

## Defenders of Calero campaign to stop move to deport him

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

NEW YORK—On less than 48 hours' notice the Political Rights Defense Fund, the defense committee for Róger Calero, called a meeting here on December 15 to discuss the next round in the fight to stop the deportation of the *Militant* staff writer and *Perspectiva Mundial* associate editor. Eighty people, including activists from Boston, Connecticut, Philadelphia, northeast Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., as well as New York and New Jersey, participated.

The meeting was called after Calero, arrested December 3 by the immigration police at the Houston airport on his return from a reporting assignment in Mexico and Cuba, was paroled by the district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Houston after the latter received a flood of protest messages.

Calero, a 12-year permanent resident, faces exclusion proceedings in an INS court.

"I want to thank all those who have taken part in the campaign to have me released so I can carry on that fight more effectively," said Calero in his presentation.

In one way or another, from writing and gathering protest letters and petition forms to contributing financially, the majority of

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## Inside an INS jail: the U.S. system of 'justice' at work

The following article was submitted minutes before the reporter, *Militant* staff writer Róger Calero, was paroled from the immigration prison in Houston, where he had been jailed for 10 days. On December 3 Calero, a 12-year permanent resident, was arrested by immigration cops at the Houston airport on his way back from a reporting assignment in Guadalajara, Mexico. Released December 10 on his own recognizance after the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) district director was flooded with protest messages from around the world, Calero still faces a deportation hearing (see article above). Calero's first on-the-scene report from the INS detention center appeared in last week's issue.

BY RÓGER CALERO

HOUSTON PROCESSING CENTER, Houston—"I've worked on a lot of government projects," said Mariano Tovar, a construction worker locked up in this immigration jail together with this reporter.

"I painted the courthouse and the local jail in Nacogdoches," Tovar said. "I even worked on the construction of this jail in 1981."

Recounting his personal story, he ran

## Bosses guilty in Alabama mine deaths: gov't report

Brookwood miners suspected dangers before 2001 disaster

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

TUSCALOOSA, Alabama—For more than a year, coal miners in Alabama have pointed to the responsibility of Jim Walters Resources for the deadly explosions that on Sept. 23, 2001, killed 13 workers at the company's Blue Creek Mine No. 5.

At a December 11 press conference here, the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) issued an investigative report holding the company responsible for the disaster, one of the deadliest in U.S. mining history.

Twelve of the 13 deaths occurred when miners responded to help their injured coworkers after an initial blast. The company did not tell them at that time that an explosion had taken place.

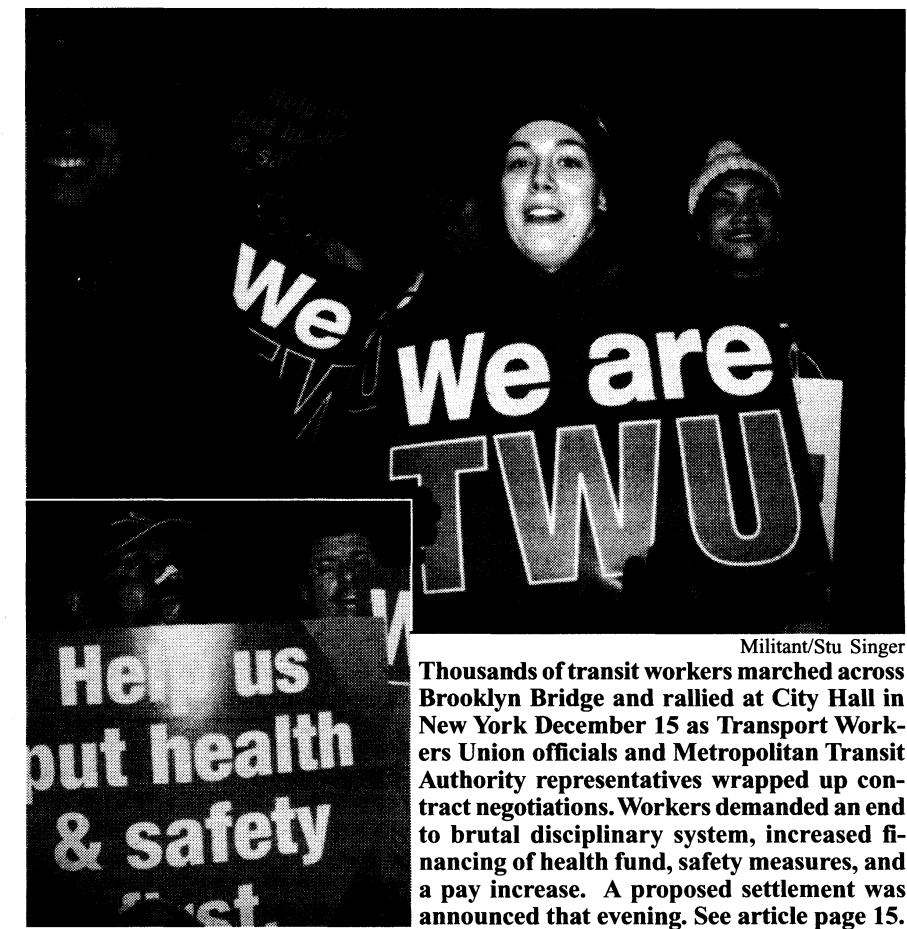
David Blevins, a coal miner whose father died in the disaster, told the media, "Jim Walter is a reckless company and has no concern for safety versus cost. That's been proven today." He said the government report confirmed what he and other miners had believed all along.

After the September 2001 disaster, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), to which the miners belonged, called a memorial day to pay tribute to the workers killed. All union mines in the state shut down that day. More than 1,500 people attended a memorial service for the 13 miners. At a press conference the day before, UMWA president Cecil Roberts called for a vigorous investigation of the cause of the explosions.

Speaking at the December 11 press conference, the assistant secretary of labor for

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### N.Y. transit workers rally to keep pressure on



Militant/Stu Singer

Thousands of transit workers marched across Brooklyn Bridge and rallied at City Hall in New York December 15 as Transport Workers Union officials and Metropolitan Transit Authority representatives wrapped up contract negotiations. Workers demanded an end to brutal disciplinary system, increased financing of health fund, safety measures, and a pay increase. A proposed settlement was announced that evening. See article page 15.

## U.S. further expands military in S. America

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Aiming to enforce its economic and political domination of the region, Washington has been expanding its military presence in South America.

Plan Colombia, the \$1.3 billion military assistance package, is the most publicized aspect of U.S. military involvement in the region.

But the U.S. rulers are also moving to protect their interests by establishing a number of new bases, including semisecret facilities, and stationing an increasing number of its troops from the southern tip of Argent-

tina to Paraguay and Peru.

In 2002 U.S. Congress approved the Bush administration's Andean Regional Initiative as an expansion of Plan Colombia, initiated by the Clinton administration. The plan includes funding for Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Panama, Peru, and Venezuela, with Colombia still receiving about half of the billion-dollar package.

Under the cover of combating the drug trade and carrying out a "war on terrorism," the U.S. government is carrying out this military buildup in anticipation of sharper resistance by workers and farmers over the

coming years in response to the economic catastrophe that is gripping the region.

Under the Andean Initiative, U.S. troops are to train some 4,000 Colombian soldiers over the next couple of years in what Washington describes as counterinsurgency operations, which are directed against the antigovernment guerrilla organizations there. This move is part of an additional \$94 million package approved by the Bush administration that will help finance a Colombian army brigade whose job is to guard U.S. oil giant Occidental Petroleum's 500-mile pipeline in the northeastern part of the country.

Nearly half the oil imported by Washington

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## U.S. forces move from Turkey to northern Iraq to train Kurdish troops

BY SAM MANUEL

Citing Turkish military sources, the Qatar-based *Al Jazeera* television channel has reported the movement of 500 U.S. Special Forces from Turkey into Kurdish-controlled areas of northern Iraq. According to the December 15 broadcast, the commandos are "training around 2,000 Kurds and making logistical preparations for the arrival of thousands of U.S. troops in the event of an attack on Iraq." The report was also carried on Turkish television.

"I have nothing on that," said a Washington spokesperson. The Turkish government, which has to date refused to give Washington the official go-ahead to launch an invasion from its territory, has also refused comment.

As such incursions are organized, along with U.S.-led military exercises in Kuwait, Qatar, and elsewhere in the region, the big

business media in the United States and Britain has noted that the military buildup still has a ways to go before the forces necessary for an invasion are assembled. Washington and London continue to concentrate troops and military hardware in the Middle East.

Preparing the political ground for war, U.S. officials have thrown cold water on the United Nations-ordered report that the Iraqi government presented December 7 on its armaments stores. The White House has already dismissed Baghdad's denial that it possesses chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons. "We know that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction and has programs to create more," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher on December 14.

Railing against Iraq's alleged possession of such weapons, the Bush administration released a document December 10 stating

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# U.S. Special Forces in northern Iraq train Kurdish troops

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that Washington reserves the right to respond with "overwhelming force" including "all our options" should Iraq use chemical or biological weapons to defend itself from an assault by U.S. forces.

The *Daily News* and *Post* newspapers in New York drew the obvious inference, with headlines reading, "We may nuke Iraq" and "We will nuke you."

Developments among the European countries have highlighted how the other imperialist powers are using Washington's imperial aggression in the Mideast to push ahead with their own war drives.

In late November German chancellor Gerhard Schroeder officially granted the Pentagon free access to German air space and movement of troops in and out of U.S. bases there. Leaders of the Green Party, the coalition partner of Schröder's Social Democratic Party, agreed on condition that Washington receives a "mandate" from the United Nations.

## Imperialist naval task force

Berlin shares responsibility with the Spanish government for the one-year-old Task Force 150 operating in the Indian Ocean under the U.S. Central Command. On December 10 troops based on two Spanish warships seized a north Korean ship carrying Scud missiles to Yemen. The Spanish command handed the ship over to U.S. officers, who steered it toward the British colonial enclave of Diego Garcia. U.S. officials expressed doubts that Yemen was the destination for the missiles; a "private buyer" or some other government might be involved, they said.

However, in face of protests by both Pyongyang and the Yemeni government, which said that the shipment belongs to it "and its army and [is] meant for defensive purposes," the U.S. forces allowed the ship to resume its journey the next day.

The incident shone a spotlight on the operations of the task force. "There is no question whose navies have the main role in the

waters near the Horn of Africa," reported the *New York Times* on December 15. Alongside one U.S. ship, eight "Spanish and German ships operate far from home, performing missions that were all but unthinkable just a few years ago."

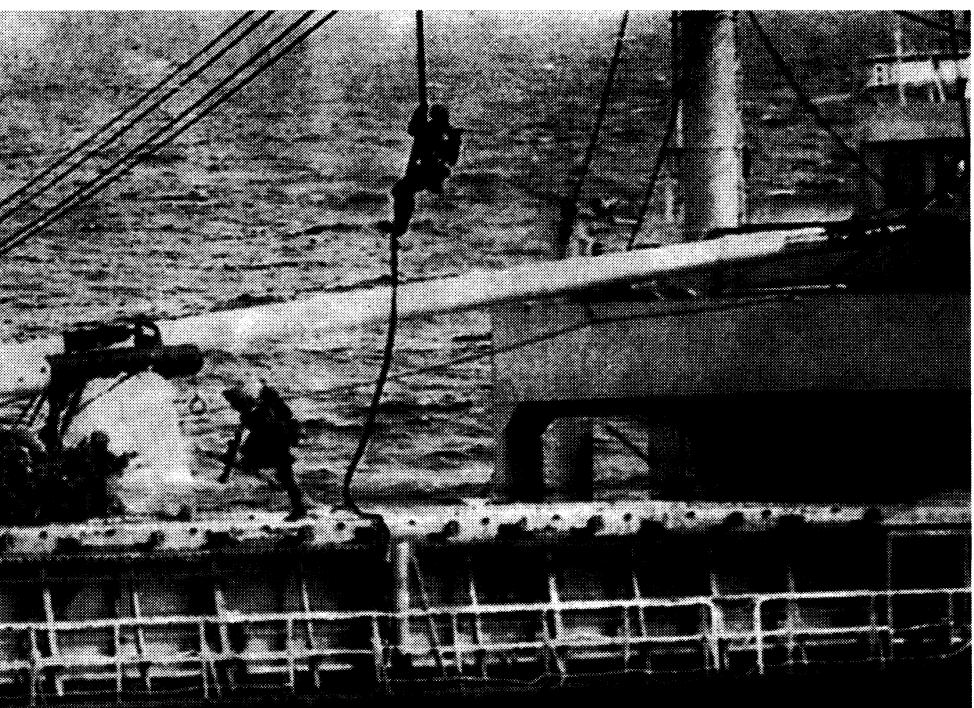
The 1,200 German personnel serving in the task force are part of some 8,600 troops deployed in Bosnia, Kosova, Macedonia, Afghanistan, and other locations. Berlin currently has more troops deployed on such missions than London.

## Carter demands that Iraq disarm

Meanwhile, James Carter used his December 10 acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize to add his voice to the propaganda barrage against Iraq. The former president warned Baghdad that it must meet the United Nations Security Council's demands to disarm.

In a subsequent interview with CNN Carter said that if inspectors determined Iraq had "weapons of mass destruction" a military attack would be in order.

The image of Carter as a "man of peace" was invoked at some of the 150 antiwar events organized across the country December 10. They were sponsored by a coalition



Spanish troops board and seize Yemen-bound north Korean ship December 10. Washington released ship after Yemeni government stated that cargo of Scud missiles was its property. German and Spanish navies are leading patrols in seas near Horn of Africa.

of 70 groups called United for Peace.

Actors Martin Sheen, Hector Elizondo and Tony Shalhoub joined a rally in Los Angeles. Speaking at the rally, Elizondo said, "It's time to stand up and declare ourselves as patriots concerned for our country."

The actors are part of a larger group called Win Without War which includes the NAACP, the National Organization for Women, the National Council of Churches, and the Sierra Club.

An ad on the group's web site signed by more than 100 actors and artists states, "We are patriotic Americans who share the belief that Saddam Hussein cannot be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction." It went on to explain that while the group supports "rigorous" inspections to ensure that Iraq disarms, a "preemptive" military invasion would "harm American nation interests." Among the signers are high-ranking retired military officers.

## Another Nobel peace laureate for imperialist war

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

With the Nobel Peace Prize in his grasp, former U.S. president James Carter is being promoted more than ever as a "man of peace" whose name is sometimes invoked at rallies to protest the U.S. war drive against Iraq.

Nobel committee chairman Gunnar Berge told reporters the selection of Carter "should be interpreted as a criticism" of the Bush administration's policy toward Iraq.

Carter's record is not exactly one of peace. A look at his record in office shows that he has been an equal partner with other Democrats and Republicans in supporting

brutal dictators and advancing imperialist interests from the Middle East to Latin America and the Caribbean.

It was President Carter who moved to reinstate draft registration, using his January 1980 State of the Union speech to announce the decision. This step marked the beginning of a militarization drive whose impact we still feel today. The large-scale expansion of military spending began not with Ronald Reagan but Carter, late in his term. His administration undertook a systematic counteroffensive to try to turn back the retreat imposed on Washington by its defeat in Vietnam. That defeat was accompanied by an erosion of public belief in the truthfulness of those who spoke for the institutions of capitalist government.

Carter promotes himself as an advocate of human rights in the Third World—an image that the big-business press works overtime to preserve.

Again, his record in office belies the myth. Early in his administration, for example, the liberal president invited the bloodstained shah of Iran as his guest at a White House banquet, expressing his "personal commitment" to strengthening ties with the monarch and supporting the "benign" impact of Washington's military alliance with Iran. For good measure, the Washington, D.C., police fired teargas at the thousands of protesters outside the White House who demanded an end to U.S. support for the dictator.

Carter nurtured a special antipathy toward the Cuban people, who made a revolution in 1959 to overthrow the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. In May 1980 he proclaimed his "open heart and open arms" to welcome to those arriving from Cuba—claimed by the president to be fleeing a "communist dictatorship."

Within days his arms were folded and his heart was hardened, as he ordered a halt to an air- and boatlift under way, and imposed restrictions on Cuban emigration even tighter than they were before Cuba had opened the port of Mariel.

At the same time Carter maintained a strict policy of denying political asylum for those fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti—a regime that never had to worry about a cutoff in military hardware from "human rights" Carter.

Carter's speech at the Nobel Prize ceremony was consistent with his record as a war president of a liberal stripe. Alongside the usual empty pacifist blather that "we will not learn to live together in peace by killing each other's children," Carter endorsed the fundamentals of George Bush's policy all along the line. He warned Iraq that it must disarm because "the world insists that this be done." Later he told a CNN interviewer that if Iraq does not disarm, then a U.S. bombing campaign and invasion would not be "unprovoked."

George Bush couldn't have said it better himself.

## The Militant

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Business Manager: PAUL PEDERSON

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# THE MILITANT

## Battle for safe working conditions

A recent report by the Mine Safety and Health Administration on the explosions in Brookwood, Alabama, that killed 13 miners confirms once again how bosses put profits before the lives of workers. The 'Militant' brings you the facts about workers' struggles for safety on the job from the coal mines to the West Coast docks, to the subway lines of New York.



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# City officials press to reactivate 'red squads'

BY SAM MANUEL

Taking full advantage of the rulers' drive against civil liberties and workers' rights—carried out under the guise of fighting "terrorism"—politicians and police departments in a number of cities are openly pressing to rehabilitate "red squad" operations that were officially curtailed during the 1970s and 80s. In a number of cases this involves an effort to strike down "consent decrees" and other restrictions on the cops' ability to spy on individuals and organizations engaged in legal political activity. Cities from New York to Denver are affected by this push.

In New York, city attorneys have asked a judge to toss out a 1985 consent decree in which the police agreed to stop gathering files on individuals or organizations when there was no evidence of a crime. The cops claim such restrictions prevent them from investigating possible acts of terrorism.

The decree prohibits police from photographing and carrying out surveillance of political demonstrations. To do so the cops would have to establish grounds for suspicion of criminal activity and get the permission of a three-person commission. That body consists of two high ranking cops and a "civilian" appointed by the mayor.

Invoking the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center the attorneys said, "The New York City Police Department had no conception of the challenge it would face in protecting the city and its people from international terrorism," when it signed the consent decree.

David Cohen, former deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency who is now deputy commissioner for intelligence of the New York Police Department, has said in court papers that the decree endangers the safety of New Yorkers, but offers no specifics. As an example of the kind of surveillance that is currently restricted, a city official said the cops would not be able to infiltrate mosques where they allege terrorist acts may be in the planning stages.

City attorneys have offered to present their case to the judge on condition that it be in private and that civil liberties attorneys supporting the decree not be present. The judge demurred, suggesting that attorneys supporting the decree should be allowed to be present, but that he would place them under a gag order. Lawyers who filed the original case resulting in the decree have strongly opposed that arrangement.

In the 1950s the department's "Red Squad" compiled voluminous files on political meetings and organizations, developing lists of "subversives" which it turned over to Congress and the FBI.

Two-decades later members of the Black Panther Party were tried on charges of conspiring to blow up department stores, a police precinct, the New Haven Railroad, and the Botanical Garden in the Bronx. The police had so many agents in the group that jurors could not distinguish between the activities of the Panthers and the undercover agents provocateurs. In one case an undercover cop gave members of the group a map and a rental car, urging them to carry out an armed robbery.

In that case the jury took just three hours to acquit the Panthers. Within weeks defense attorneys filed the class-action law suit which resulted in the decree.

## Chicago—consent decree reversed

Early last year a court reversed a consent decree which placed some restrictions on

the Chicago police department's red squad. Lawyers of the city and police hailed the reversal saying it would allow the cops to get information on hate groups, photograph and videotape demonstrations, and share information with police across the country in monitoring suspected "terrorists."

The 1974 lawsuit which resulted in the Chicago decree revealed that the red squad had routinely "engaged in burglaries, thefts of property and money, blackmail, warrantless wiretaps, illegal arrests [and] provocations." Squad members worked hand in glove with right-wing goon outfits such as the Legion of Justice. Members of the latter group invaded the Chicago offices of the Socialist Workers Party armed with clubs and mace, injuring several people.

The cops provided the legion with mace, tear gas, electronic surveillance equipment, money, and protection for the raids. In return, the legionnaires turned over files, records, and books they seized to the cop agencies.

In a December 1969 pre-dawn raid, Chicago police killed Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark as they slept in their beds. Court records revealed that the chief of Panther security and Hampton's bodyguard, William O'Neal, was an FBI infiltrator. O'Neal provided a detailed floor plan of the apartment shortly before the raid.

In 1960 the Chicago cops boasted of having files on 117,000 "local" individuals, 141,000 "out of town" subjects, and 14,000 organizations. The red squad consisted of 500 cops, 600 civilian informants, and 250 occasional informants.

## Task force in Portland

In Portland, Oregon, the city council recently defied broad opposition to renew a cooperation agreement between its police department and the FBI known as the Portland Joint Terrorism Task Force. Just days before the council's approval the Portland *Tribune* broke a story on police compilation of thousands of files on political activists and groups in the city.

In his presentation to the council supporting renewal of the agreement, city police



Militant

Cop photographs protesters at demonstration against U.S. policy toward Iraq in Birmingham, Alabama, February 19, 1998. Officials in a number of cities are pressing to give local cops more leeway to spy on individuals and groups engaged in legal activities.

chief Mark Kroeker pointed to a string of "environmentally related property crimes."

Students at the state university had been charged in connection with the arson of logging trucks in Eagle Creek.

Environmental organizations had carried out a three-year campaign to halt the sale of timber from the forest area. Portland Business Alliance representative Tim Crocker also testified in favor of the task force, stating that Oregon faces an increasing threat of "ecoterrorism."

Along with the Eagle Creek arrest, Chief Kroeker also pointed to the arrest of Sheik Mohammed Abdirahman Kariye, religious leader of the city's largest mosque. Kariye was arrested after cops claimed to have found trace amounts of TNT on his luggage. Test for the substance done by the FBI came back negative a few days after the hearing. The

cops later charged Kariye with fraudulent use of a Social Security number.

In March Denver mayor Wellington Webb admitted that city police have "3,200 files on individuals and another 208 records on organizations." The story broke open at a press conference held by the Colorado American Civil Liberties Union.

Among those in the files are a Franciscan nun, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Chiapas Coalition, which organizes support for indigenous groups in Chiapas, Mexico. All three were labeled in the file as "criminal extremists." In face of mounting pressure the mayor issued a statement saying that the cops had gone too far and that "no information about political, religious, or social views, associations, or activities should be collected unless the information relates to criminal activity."

## Heating subsidy cuts will leave many in the cold

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Hundreds of thousands of working-class families across the United States may be forced to choose between freezing or going hungry this winter.

The Bush administration is proposing to ax \$300 million from the \$1.7 billion Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP), a federal program that provides energy subsidies to some 4.5 million people. If the projected cuts are enacted some 438,000 families will lose financial assistance for their heating bills.

The proposed reduction is the latest cutback to LIHEAP, which was established in 1981. Funding for the program peaked in 1986 at \$2.1 billion and steadily declined to \$1.3 billion in 1995. By 1997 it stood at \$1 billion, before being increased to the current level.

The 1997 cuts were part of a package of reductions in social spending incorporated into the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act signed into law by William Clinton. The law's principal aim was to eliminate the federally

funded entitlement, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which was part of the 1935 Social Security Act. The Democratic president had promised to "end welfare as we know it" during his 1992 election campaign.

In the face of the economic slowdown, combined with rising utility rates and other cuts in social entitlements, the slashing of LIHEAP means many working-class families will have a rough time staying warm this winter. Under the proposed cuts, still to be approved by Congress, 80,000 people in the state of New York will be kicked out of the heating program. In Illinois another 35,000 will be eliminated.

People's Energy, the Chicago utility company that provides natural gas service to nearly 1 million people in the city, has reported that some 10,000 customers are going without heating service. According to

media reports many families have had their natural gas service disconnected for at least two years.

Ann Brown, a 75-year-old resident, told reporters that her gas service had been shut off two years ago when utility rates soared and she fell behind in payments. "I couldn't pay the gas bill and keep my lights on," she said, explaining that she pays \$700 of her \$1,000 monthly Social Security check toward her house mortgage. Brown heats her home with electric space heaters.

In late November protesters in Chicago demonstrated outside the People's Energy building and the mayor's office demanding that the utility restore service to homes where the natural gas had been disconnected because of nonpayment. Government officials in Illinois claim that there are no funds to resume the service.

## UK firefighters union suspends strike

BY ANNE MACDONALD

DUNDEE, Scotland—Leaders of the Fire Brigades Union (FBU) in the United Kingdom announced December 12 that the next round of strike action, scheduled to start four days later, has been suspended while contract talks proceed with conciliation service ACAS.

The strike, due to begin December 16, would have been the third national strike staged by the 55,000 firefighters during the current fight. Organized in November, both previous actions sparked a fury of statements by government and business figures in opposition to the union. Roughly 19,000 members of the armed forces were mobilized to operate firetrucks during the November 13 and 22 stoppages, which lasted two days and eight days respectively.

On December 7 thousands of firefighters mobilized in London in a march and rally to build support for their struggle.

The unionists are fighting for a wage raise to defend their living standards, and at the same time resisting proposals by the gov-

ernment and their employers in the Local Government Association (LGA) to slash jobs and services.

In calling off the strike, FBU general secretary Andy Gilchrist said that the union is "determined to achieve a serious and significant increase in pay for our members and we hope to do this through negotiation. However, should progress halt or fail," he added, "or if the government or our employers are no longer seriously negotiating on our claim, the executive will not hesitate to instruct members to take further strike action." At present more national stoppages are scheduled for January 28 and February 1.

LGA officials and Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott welcomed the FBU's decision to suspend the strike, which was due to end on Christmas Eve. The government has indicated its determination to face down the firefighters. A spokesman for Prescott said, "The government's position remains clear: any settlement must be within the framework set out by the deputy prime minister."

## From Pathfinder

### Capitalism's World Disorder: Working-Class Politics at the Millennium

Jack Barnes

"The capitalist rulers offer us social disaster. They offer us depression. They offer us death from curable disease. They offer us war. They offer us fascism. They offer us an unending list of horrors. But we offer ourselves the ability to prevent those horrors from becoming the final reality, the confidence that we can transform that future."

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# Lott's racist record sparks controversy

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Incoming Senate majority leader Trent Lott sparked controversy with comments he made at a December 5, 100th birthday party for Republican Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Lott, a Mississippi Republican, praised Thurmond's 1948 presidential bid, stating that "when Strom Thurmond ran for president, we voted for him. We're proud of it. And if the rest of the country had followed our lead, we wouldn't have had all these problems over all these years, either."

Thurmond, then governor of South Carolina, ran for president in 1948 as the nominee of the States' Rights Democratic Party, also known as the Dixiecrats. That same year the Dixiecrats had broken from the Democratic Party to form an explicitly racist, pro-segregation party, adopting a platform that said, "We stand for the segregation of the races and the racial integrity of each race."

During his campaign Thurmond declared, "All the laws of Washington and all the bayonets of the Army cannot force the Negro into our homes, our schools, our churches." Thurmond carried the election in Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina, receiving 39 electoral votes.

A decade later, in 1957, Thurmond made history again in his attempt to block civil rights legislation, embarking on a record-breaking 24-hour-plus filibuster on the Senate floor.

Trent Lott's praise for the segregationist senator was denounced within a week by politicians from both parties. Former vice president Albert Gore rebuked Lott, and Democratic presidential hopeful John Kerry, senator from Massachusetts, called for Lott to step down from his leadership position



Above, unionists and other participants in 1963 March on Washington demanding civil rights for Blacks. Right, Dixiecrats at 1948 Alabama state convention of States' Rights Democratic Party that promoted racist segregation. Senator Trent Lott got into hot water with his recent praise of Strom Thurmond's presidential bid as States' Rights candidate in 1948 election.



in the Senate.

Lott apologized days later for "a poor choice of words."

President Bush tried to minimize the damage to the Republican Party and prove his

credentials as an opponent of racism, stating, "Any suggestion that the segregated past was acceptable or positive is offensive and wrong." Bush's spokesman added, however, that the president did not think that Lott

should step down.

Senator Arlen Specter from Pennsylvania described Lott's praise for Thurmond's presidential bid as an "inadvertent slip, and his apology should end the discussion." One top Congressional official told the *New York Times* that Lott had been "Newtized," referring to Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker who came to represent sharp attacks on social entitlement programs for working people.

Under increasing pressure, Lott apologized for his "terrible" mistake again December 11 during a radio interview. His appearance on the program followed widespread publicity of the fact that he had expressed identical sentiments in similar words at a 1980 Ronald Reagan campaign rally in Mississippi. On that occasion Lott had said of Thurmond's 1948 campaign, "You know, if we had elected this man 30 years ago, we wouldn't be in the mess we are today." Lott insisted that his intent had been to honor the Dixiecrat's work on military and economic issues, not to endorse racial discrimination.

Apologies from the Mississippi senator and reassuring words from the president, however, have not stemmed the debate on the history of segregation and Lott's own record that the controversy has opened up. He has a 30-year career in the House and Senate, and became Senate Republican leader and majority leader in 1996. He was reelected majority leader last month without opposition.

*Time* magazine reported that some 40 years ago Lott had led an effort to block the acceptance of Blacks into his all-white fraternity at the University of Mississippi. Other critics highlighted his 1983 vote against a federal holiday for Martin Luther King, Jr., his 1982 vote against the extension of the Voting Rights Act, and his efforts to restore citizenship to Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy in the Civil War. In 1978, President James Carter signed into law then-congressman Lott's bill to grant citizenship to the leader of the slavocracy.

## Commentators promote myth of 'white vote'

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Among the flood of commentary on the November elections in the United States, one theme that stood out was the argument by some big-business publications and politicians that the Republican Party's victories were due to its allegedly greater success in getting out the "white vote."

The argument that there is such a thing as a "white vote" is a reactionary one. It reinforces ruling-class efforts to cajole working people who are not members of oppressed nationalities into thinking of them-

## NEWS ANALYSIS

selves as "white" and to persuade them they have interests and concerns different from, and even hostile to, those of Blacks and other working people. It also fits in with the employers' efforts to draw workers and farmers into identifying themselves as "Americans" with something in common with U.S. bosses.

Since the 2000 elections, the Senate has been divided almost evenly between the two main capitalist parties. In the recent elections, the Republican Party of President George Bush gained a slight majority in the Senate: 51 seats, up from 49. The Democrats won 48 seats. The "independent" senator, James Jeffords, who last year quit the Republican Party, remains a Democratic ally on many issues.

### November elections

In the House the Republicans increased their majority by five seats to 228, against 204 for the Democrats.

The Senate balance remains so tight that in the recent controversy over remarks by Sen. Trent Lott, the Mississippi politician's vague threat of resigning—not only as majority leader but from the Senate itself—posed the possibility that the Republican Party would again lose its majority, given that his replacement would be appointed by Mississippi's Democratic governor.

Some 40 percent of the electorate—two out of five eligible voters—turned out to vote, about average for a midterm election.

The Democratic Party did somewhat better in the state elections, picking up at least three more governorships than previously.

"Analyzing" these results, right-wing commentators have devoted their share of ink to "explanations" of the alleged impact

of the "white voter."

It was the liberal *New York Times*, however that was among the first to announce the "story," in a November 9 piece entitled, "Democratic Analysts Blame Some Losses on the Failure to Win Moderate Whites."

In the middle of their article, *Times* reporters James Yardley and Dana Canedy admitted to an "absence of demographic information" backing up Democratic Party officials' assertions. They blamed "the decision by Voter News Service not to poll voters leaving the booth."

Nevertheless, they wrote, Democratic officials have used "independent surveys of voters at the polls and an examination of turnout in crucial counties."

These politicians assert that although "minority voters turned out in respectable numbers and voted Democratic...the party apparently lost thousands of moderate white voters who supported Bill Clinton and helped elect Southern Democratic governors in 1998 and 2000."

Democrat Gayle Andrews told the *Times*, "I don't think we paid attention to white voters." Andrews is a party consultant in Florida, where the party's candidate, William McBride, lost by a wide margin to Republican Governor John Ellis Bush. "He was thought to be the sort of white moderate who could attract swing voters," wrote Yardley and Canedy.

Other commentators echoed these views. *USA Today* columnist DeWayne Wickham argued that the elections were shaped by divergent "mind-sets of black and white voters." Sean Wilentz of the liberal online magazine Salon.com maintained in dramatic language that "the Republicans' historic victories" were due to "a surge in white voter turnout in the rural South."

Speaking even more forcefully, columnist Steven Sailer claimed that the "star turn" in the elections "was taken by...the Invisible Giant of American politics: the white electorate."

Sailer's commentaries were carried by the right-wing magazine *National Review Online*, which headlined the article, "The Color of Election 2002."

"Republicans triumphed not by broadening their tent to include more minority voters," wrote Sailer. "Rather, they motivated more whites to turn out and vote GOP."

The pundit warned Republicans that continuing immigration is eroding "their white base's share of the population." He suggested one possible solution: to further restrict the influx of working people from

abroad, or, in his words, "to alter the immigration system so that it admits fewer potential Democrats."

### Ideological purpose of the myth of race

The assumptions behind statements that "white voters" form a distinct social identity have no scientific value. The concept of race itself is a social construct of capitalist social relations, not a fact of biology.

These concepts, however, do serve an ideological purpose for the ruling class. The myth that there is a "white" nationality is promoted to divide working people and undermine solidarity with the struggles of oppressed nationalities against discrimination.

By contrast with this myth, the Black nationality is a fact; Black consciousness is a historic, progressive conquest. The Black nationality in the United States was forged by the course of development that capitalism took in this country following the defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the late 1870s, with the brutal, systemic oppression that was imposed on the Black population—and by the massive struggles led by Blacks against this oppression over much more than a century.

The November elections marked an episodic high point for the Republican Party. As the economic depression continues to deepen, and as the unpredictable consequences of Washington's war drive unfold, the Democratic Party will rise in its turn—parallel to the pattern seen in other parts of the world with the electoral victories of social democratic and other bourgeois reformist currents.

In the United States, the rulers will seek to channel working-class moods of resistance into voting for the Democrats as a "lesser evil." That is the way the two-party system functions.

For now, forces in the U.S. workers movement that pinned their hopes on electoral gains for the Democrats are dispirited and in disarray.

In the 2000 elections, some of these forces sought to explain away the defeat of Albert Gore—who had already served for eight years as vice president of the world's most brutal imperialist government—by claiming a Republican "coup." Unable to use such an argument in the 2002 elections, they are susceptible to blaming workers for the Republican election gains, while they themselves fall more and more into the "American" and patriotic framework of bourgeois politics today.

## Dockworkers to vote on contract in January

BY DEBORAH LIATOS

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 10,500 West Coast dockworkers, locked in a dispute with shipping bosses for seven months, will vote on a contract proposal in the second week of January.

The document had been provisionally adopted November 23 by representatives of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA). On December 12 some 80 union representatives voted to place it before the membership for a ballot that will take place January 6-13.

The margin of approval on December 12 was 94 percent. Opposition came from several members representing marine clerks in the Bay Area and at several other ports from Seattle to San Diego. The positions of about 400 clerks would be lost under the contract's terms. The employers said they will offer the clerks union jobs elsewhere on the docks.

The proposed six-year agreement includes pension increases, improvements in health benefits, and a \$3 per hour wage raise.

Negotiations on a new contract began in May. In the following months workers held a number of solidarity rallies and pickets as they reached out for support. They explained that the bosses' "modernization" proposals—backed vociferously by big-business politicians and media—will involve an acceleration of work speedup and attacks on safety conditions. Seven people have been killed while working the docks so far this year.

The dockworkers won considerable support from other workers for their fight against the bosses' attacks. In late September the PMA locked out the longshore workers. After 10 days, on October 8, President George Bush invoked the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act to reopen the ports and resume work under the terms of the expired contract.

Deborah Liatos is a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 120.

# At Mexico book fair, Cuban Revolution is a topic of debate

BY NORTON SANDLER

GUADALAJARA, MEXICO—The 16th Guadalajara International Book Fair, held from November 30 to December 8, attracted an estimated 420,000 people, according to preliminary figures released by its organizers.

The annual book fair, held in Mexico's second-largest city, is a major event in the Americas, attracting prominent writers and other cultural figures. It is a major gathering point for booksellers, distributors, publishers, and librarians from many countries, including the United States and Canada. This year some 1,300 publishing houses from more than 30 countries took part in the event, bringing more than 80,000 titles (an earlier article reporting on this year's book fair appeared in the December 16 issue).

## Fair coincides with student conference

One of the features of this year's event was the fact that it overlapped with the 13th congress of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE), which drew nearly 1,200 youth from across the Americas. The meeting focused on the social catastrophe facing millions in Latin America and the Caribbean and how to address this crisis in the interests of working people.

On December 1, hundreds of youth attending the OCLAE congress visited the book fair, injecting it with an added youthful and political element.

This year the honored country was Cuba. Throughout the 10-day event, Cuba's large pavilion was packed with visitors. It featured a range of books from Cuban publishers.

Some 90 fair events were organized with Cuban participants, including book presentations, panels, and workshops. Among the prominent Cuban novelists, poets, writers, and performers who joined in these activities were Miguel Barnet, Anton Arrufat, Nancy Morejón, Roberto Fernández Retamar, Cintio Vitier, and Alicia Alonso. On the opening day of the fair, poet and essayist Vitier received the Juan Rulfo prize, a prestigious Latin American literary award that is given out each year during the book fair.

A panel featuring Cuban poet Norberto Codina also included Cubans who are partisans of the revolution but live outside the country. Codina is the editor of *La Gaceta de Cuba*, the magazine of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC).

Also attracting attention and receiving prominent press coverage were presentations by Fidel Castro Díaz-Balart on the scientific accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution and by Eusebio Leal on the effort to restore and preserve the architecture of Old Havana.

Cuba also had a large presence of well-known musicians and dancers, from veteran singer Compay Segundo to the Cuban National Ballet. A December 1 exchange by singer Silvio Rodriguez with fair visitors drew an audience of 2,500.

Opponents of the Cuban Revolution campaigned throughout the fair to slander the revolution and to distract attention away from its cultural accomplishments. Their efforts were largely unsuccessful.

On December 1, as part of an official fair program, a panel was organized of individu-

als associated with *Letras Libres*, a publication opposed to the Cuban Revolution that is financed in part by the Mexican government. The issue of *Letras Libres* produced prior to the book fair was devoted to the topic of "the dictatorship" and concentrated on various scenarios for the overthrow of the revolution following the death of President Fidel Castro. The panelists were Roger Bartra, Rafael Rojas, Christopher Domínguez, and José Manuel Prieto, all opponents of the revolution who operate in academic circles.

Among those packing the meeting room where this event was held were activists from the Mexican movement in solidarity with Cuba, as well as some youth, including from Cuba who attended the OCLAE congress.

After the four speakers finished their presentations, numerous audience members took the microphone at the front and began to denounce the panelists. They were called traitors to Cuba, funded by the CIA. Chants of "Cuba sí, yanqui no" erupted on several occasions.

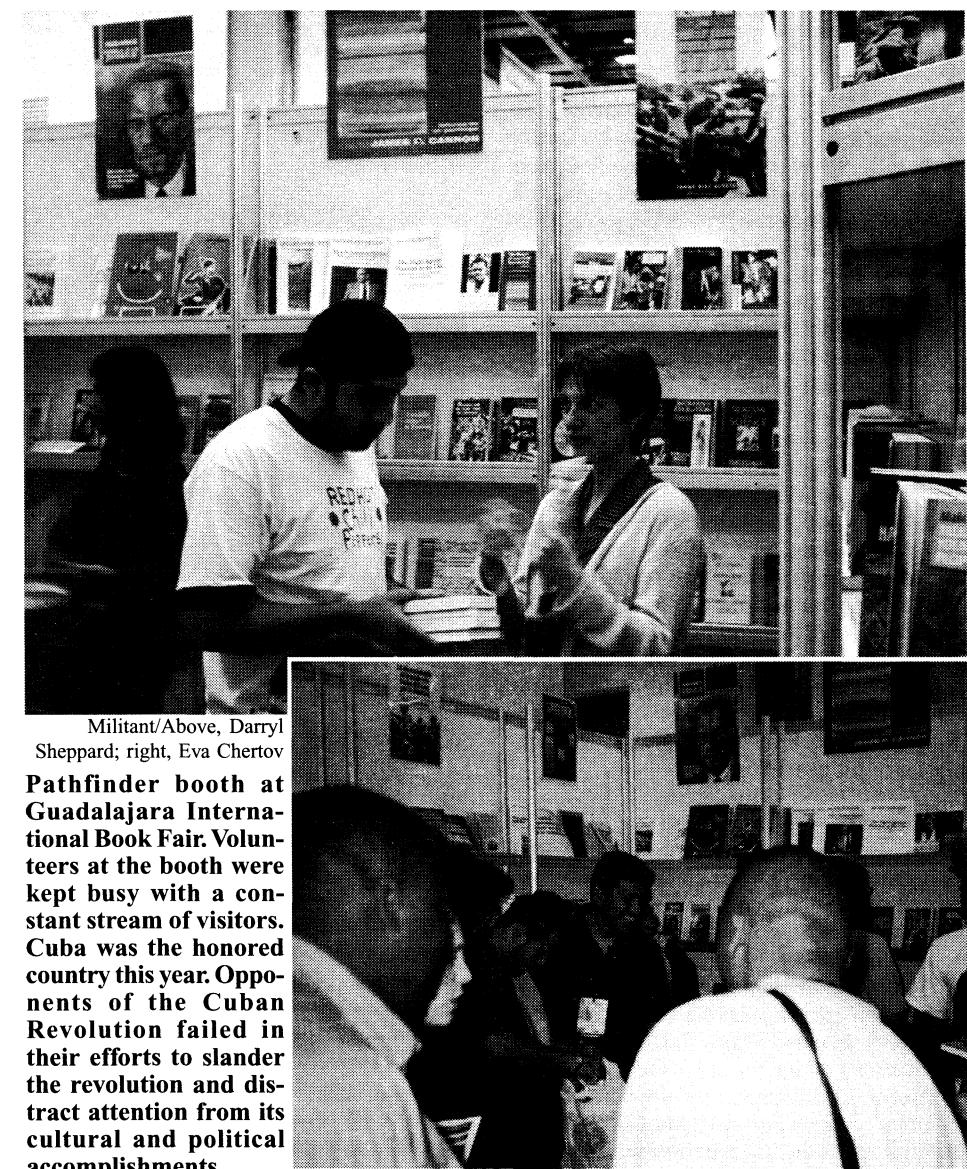
Notable in contrast were remarks during the discussion by Eliades Acosta, director of the José Martí National Library in Havana, who calmly defended the Cuban Revolution. "Ours is a revolution that does not curtail anything," said Acosta, responding to charges that artistic expression is restricted on the island.

At the meeting Acosta handed out a statement condemning the provocation staged by backers of *Letras Libres*. It said, "This issue of *Letras Libres* is out of sync with the cultured, revolutionary, and rebel spirit of the Cuban people."

## Anti-Cuba campaign in media

This event was followed the next few days by a virulent campaign against Cuba in the daily papers here. Enrique Krause, editor of *Letras Libres*, issued a statement saying the book fair organizers had been kidnapped by the Cuban government.

A column by Mexican writer Gabriel Zaid accused supporters of the revolution of "low-intensity terrorism" against artists in Cuba, echoing a theme raised in the panel presentations. Also widely printed was a statement issued December 4 by right-wing Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa and 27 other academic figures asserting that the "totalitarian practices of Castro have stained



Militant/Above, Darryl Sheppard; right, Eva Chertov

**Pathfinder booth at Guadalajara International Book Fair.** Volunteers at the booth were kept busy with a constant stream of visitors. Cuba was the honored country this year. Opponents of the Cuban Revolution failed in their efforts to slander the revolution and distract attention from its cultural and political accomplishments.

a prestigious Latin America cultural event."

The leadership of the Cuban delegation answered the slander campaign. Abel Prieto, Cuba's Minister of Culture, noted that *Letras Libres* was produced in order to attack Cuba, not for literary thought.

Iroel Sánchez, president of the Cuban Book Institute, said in a December 3 statement that Cuba "did not come to the book fair to carry out political propaganda." He said "none of our panels, panel discussions, tributes, and literary presentations were of this character."

Opponents of the Cuban revolution used the media hue and cry as the buildup to a second official presentation on December 5 by backers of *Encuentro de la cultura cubana*, an anti-Cuban Revolution magazine published in Spain. This event took place without any incidents.

In an interview with the Mexico City daily *La Jornada*, Fernando Rojas, national director of Cuba's Community Cultural Institute,

said *Encuentro* is not independent but had received grants from the National Endowment for Democracy, created in the 1980s as a wing of the U.S. Information Agency.

Simultaneously, the Café Literario that was part of the Cuban pavilion hosted an exchange between fair visitors and Silvio Rodríguez, Cintio Vitier, Eusebio Leal, and Roberto Fernández Retamar. As part of this discussion, a statement was issued in the name of several prominent Cuban artists thanking the city of Guadalajara and the organizers of the book fair for allowing this opportunity for Cuban artists to be on display, and for the outpouring of solidarity the Cuban delegation had received during the book fair from many people in Guadalajara.

Fair organizers held a news conference on the final day to salute the Cuban participation and to announce that Quebec will be honored at the 2003 book fair.

*Luis Madrid contributed to this article.*

## Students, workers jam Pathfinder booth

BY CANDACE WAGNER

GUADALAJARA, Mexico—At many points during the nine-day long Guadalajara International Book Fair, the Pathfinder booth was so crowded with visitors that it took some perseverance to get in.

The U.S.-based publisher carried a display of hundreds of books and pamphlets by revolutionary leaders, and about the lessons of the modern working-class movement. Pathfinder publishes books ranging from works by Marx and Engels to the speeches of Cuban revolutionary leaders Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara, to books by communist leaders in the United States.

Jamming the booth, young people, workers, and others who had bought some of these books in previous years contended with those discovering this revolutionary arsenal for the first time.

A total of 545 Pathfinder books were sold at the fair, about 20 percent more than last year. Readers purchased 135 different titles.

Isaac Gallaga, an English teacher in Guadalajara who has come to the Pathfinder stand at the fair for the last three years, said, "I'm tired of reading what

people want me to read. I want to read what great revolutionaries like Malcolm, Che, and Fidel have to say. That's why I come to the fair."

José Luis Ortega and several friends came to the booth the first day and explained the fight they are involved in for student rights at their high school. He returned twice for more discussions. After reading *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes, he came back and bought *Their Trotsky and Ours* to learn more about an international revolutionary perspective. Seven copies of that new title were sold, along with five copies in Spanish of *The History of American Trotskyism*, by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Víctor Martínez and five friends from his high school came by to browse the books. In an interview, they explained the crisis that small farmers and cattle ranchers face in Mexico. "The situation facing hog farmers is that the farmers used to export to the United States. Now the United States is shipping pork here," Martínez said. "Agriculture as a livelihood is finished for many people." He said the trade pacts signed between the U.S. and Mexican governments is responsible for this crisis.

Explaining why Mexican farmers have a hard time competing with U.S. agriculture, the students said that in the United States there is greater use of modern technology, allowing better feeding, disease prevention, and artificial fattening of the livestock. "There are big slaughterhouses in places like Nebraska where they process them," one

youth noted.

Asked how they knew so much about farming, the youth explained that many of them work on farms during school vacations. A couple have relatives that raise animals outside of the city. They were surprised to hear that many small farmers in the United States are also being driven off the land.

With Cuba the featured country at the book fair this year, the interest in books on the Cuban Revolution was even higher than on previous occasions. Fair visitors bought 310 books related to the Cuban Revolution. The top seller at the booth was *Che Guevara Talks to Young People*: 69 were sold in Spanish and 4 in English.

*The Transformation of Learning* sold 65 copies between the Spanish, English and French editions. A high school librarian from the United States bought six copies to bring to her colleagues.

## Interest in Malcolm X

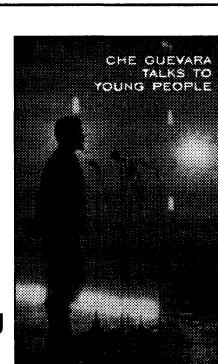
There was also great interest in the title *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, published for the first time in Spanish just in time for the fair. Twenty-one copies were sold. The photos and captions in the book depicting the Black rights struggle in the United States in the 1960s were a feature that attracted many. A student asked Nan Bailey, a garment worker from Los Angeles staffing the display, "Where's the Malcolm X?" He had just heard a report on the Guadalajara University radio station about the Pathfinder booth that mentioned some of the featured titles.

"Why is *The Jewish Question* only pub-Continued on Page 15

### From Pathfinder

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# Lenin on the social roots of opportunism

Printed below is an excerpt from the December 1916 article "Imperialism and the split in socialism," by V.I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik party that led workers and farmers to power in the October 1917 Russian Revolution. The article, originally published in the Bolshevik newspaper *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, addresses the social roots of opportunism within the working-class movement that developed among those socialists who, in the name of "national defense," sided with their "own" imperialist bourgeoisie when World War I broke out in 1914. This led to a split between the revolutionary wing and the reformists and centrists who dominated the parties of the Socialist International. The article appears in *Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International*, part of the series "The Communist International in Lenin's Time." Copyright © 1984 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY V.I. LENIN

Is there any connection between imperialism and the monstrous and disgusting victory opportunism (in the form of social-chauvinism) has gained over the labour movement in Europe?

This is the fundamental question of modern socialism. And having in our Party literature fully established, first, the imperialist character of our era and of the present war, and, second, the inseparable historical connection between social-chauvinism and opportunism, as well as the intrinsic similarity of their political ideology, we can and must proceed to analyse this fundamental question.

We have to begin with as precise and full a definition of imperialism as possible. Imperialism is a specific historical stage of capitalism. Its specific character is three-fold: imperialism is (1) monopoly capitalism; (2) parasitic, or decaying capitalism; (3) moribund capitalism. The supplanting of free competition by monopoly is the fundamental economic feature, the *quintessence* of imperialism. Monopoly manifests itself in five principal forms: (1) cartels, syndicates and trusts—the concentration of production has reached a degree which gives rise to these monopolistic associations of capitalists; (2) the monopolistic position of the big banks—three, four or five giant banks manipulate the whole economic life of America, France, Germany; (3) seizure of the sources of *raw material* by the trusts and the financial oligarchy (finance capital is monopoly industrial capital merged with bank capital); (4) the (economic) partition of the world by the international cartels has begun. There are already over one hundred such international cartels, which command the *entire* world market and divide it "amicably" among themselves—until war redvides it.

The export of capital, as distinct from the export of commodities under non-monopoly capitalism, is a highly characteristic phenomenon and is closely linked with the economic and territorial-political partition of the world; (5) the territorial partition of the world (colonies) is completed.

Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America and Europe, and later in Asia, took final shape in the period 1898–1914. The Spanish-American War (1898), the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–05) and the economic crisis in Europe in 1900 are the chief historical landmarks in the new era of world history.

The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay, which is charac-



French troops at Verdun, France, in 1916. In World War I, opportunists in workers movement sided with "own" imperialist bourgeoisie in the name of "national defense."

teristic of every monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic-republican and the reactionary-monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods). Secondly, the decay of capitalism is manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of *rentiers*, capitalists who live by "clipping coupons". In each of the four leading imperialist countries—England, U.S.A., France and Germany—capital in securities amounts to 100,000 or 150,000 million francs, from which each country derives an annual income of no less than five to eight thousand million. Thirdly, export of capital is parasitism raised to a high pitch. Fourthly, "finance capital strives for domination, not freedom".

Political reaction *all along the line* is a characteristic feature of imperialism. Corruption, bribery on a huge scale and all kinds of fraud. Fifthly, the exploitation of oppressed nations—which is inseparably connected with annexations—and especially the exploitation of colonies by a handful of "Great" Powers, increasingly transforms the "civilised" world into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations. The Roman proletarian lived at the expense of society. Modern society lives at the expense of the modern proletarian. Marx specially stressed this profound observation of Sismondi. Imperialism somewhat changes the situation. A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations.

It is clear why imperialism is *moribund* capitalism, capitalism in *transition* to socialism: monopoly, which grows *out of* capitalism, is *already* dying capitalism, the beginning of its transition to socialism. The tremendous *socialisation* of labour by imperialism (what its apologists—the bourgeois economists—all "interlocking") produces the same result....

## Monopoly capitalism

Imperialism is monopoly capitalism. Every cartel, trust, syndicate, every giant bank is a monopoly. Superprofits have not disappeared; they still remain. The exploitation of all other countries by one privileged, fi-

nancially wealthy country remains and has become more intense. A handful of wealthy countries—there are only four of them, if we mean independent, really gigantic, "modern" wealth: England, France, the United States and Germany—have developed monopoly to vast proportions, they obtain *superprofits* running into hundreds, if not thousands, of millions, they "ride on the backs" of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in other countries and fight among themselves for the division of the particularly rich, particularly fat and particularly easy spoils.

This, in fact, is the economic and political essence of imperialism, the profound contradictions of which Kautsky glosses over instead of exposing. The bourgeoisie of an imperialist "Great" Power can *economically* bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its *superprofits* most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this little sop is divided among the labour ministers, "labor representatives" (remember Engels's splendid analysis of the term), labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, only England enjoyed a monopoly: *that is why* opportunism could prevail there for decades. No other countries possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new, imperialist era. Finance capital *not of* one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers enjoys a monopoly. (In Japan and Russia the monopoly of military power, vast territories, or special facilities for robbing minority nationalities, China, etc., partly supplements, partly takes the place of, the monopoly of modern, up-to-date finance capital.) This difference explains why England's monopoly position *could remain unchallenged* for decades.

The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of *one* country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, *every* imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe *smaller* strata (than in England in 1848–68) of the "labour aristocracy". Formerly a "bourgeois labour party", to use Engels's remarkably profound expression, could arise only in one country, because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, but, on the other hand, it could exist for a long time. Now a "bourgeois labour party" is *inevitable* and typical in *all* imperialist countries; but in view of the desperate struggle they are waging for the division of spoils, it is improbable that such a party can prevail for long in a number of countries. For the trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., while enabling the bribery of a handful in the top layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the *mass* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to con-

vert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapons of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses*, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop. For the first tendency is not accidental; it is "substantiated" economically. In *all* countries the bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured for itself "bourgeois labour parties" of social-chauvinists....

## Economic privileges and sops

On the economic basis referred to above, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.—have created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of "respectable", legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and "bourgeois law-abiding" trade unions—this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the "bourgeois labour parties".

The mechanics of political democracy works in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

I would call this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the English Minister Lloyd George, one of the foremost and most dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the "bourgeois labour party". A first class bourgeois manipulator, an astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a labour audience, and a man who is capable of obtaining sizable sops for docile workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly, and serves it precisely *among* the workers, brings its influence *precisely* to the proletariat, to where the bourgeoisie needs it most and where it finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally....

## 'Defenders of the fatherland'

Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the "defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war *represent* only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower* and *deeper*, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-liberal labour politics.

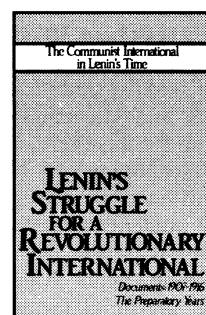
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# Company at fault in Alabama mine deaths, gov't report confirms

Continued from front page

MSHA, David Lauriski, said the report cites Jim Walter Resources with 27 violations, including "eight violations directly contributing to the explosion."

Among the major violations cited by MSHA were company failure to adequately support the mine roof, inadequate rock dusting, which suppresses coal dust, and failure to initiate evacuation procedures immediately after the first of two explosions.

On September 23 of last year, four miners were working in the No. 4 section of the mine. Three of them were building roof supports to help fortify deteriorating roof conditions. A couple of hours into the evening shift, the roof fell in, burying a battery-charging station used to recharge a piece of equipment called a scoop.

The felled rock from the roof released a quantity of explosive methane gas that came in contact with a spark from the damaged battery. This caused an explosion that extended 200 feet in one direction and 500 feet in the other, injuring three of the miners and rendering one of them immobile. Those who could walk sought help.

The initial explosion burst apart several ventilation controls. This "short circuited" ventilation, meaning it interrupted the proper flow of air through the mines necessary to flush away and prevent accumulation of methane and gaseous hazards. The result: more methane began to build up. Electrical power to No. 4 section was cut off, as is standard during a fire or explosion. But the deadly mixture of gas reached the end of No. 4 section and a block light (similar to a traffic light), which was hooked in to a separate power source.

While miners tried to alert others, the foreman called outside to the surface. Lauriski told reporters at the press conference that the foreman underground knew an explosion had occurred, and relayed that fact to the bosses outside. In a follow-up question, a reporter asked, "So you are saying that the management knew an actual explosion had occurred and did not communicate that fact to miners underground?" Lauriski's response was "Yes, that is correct."

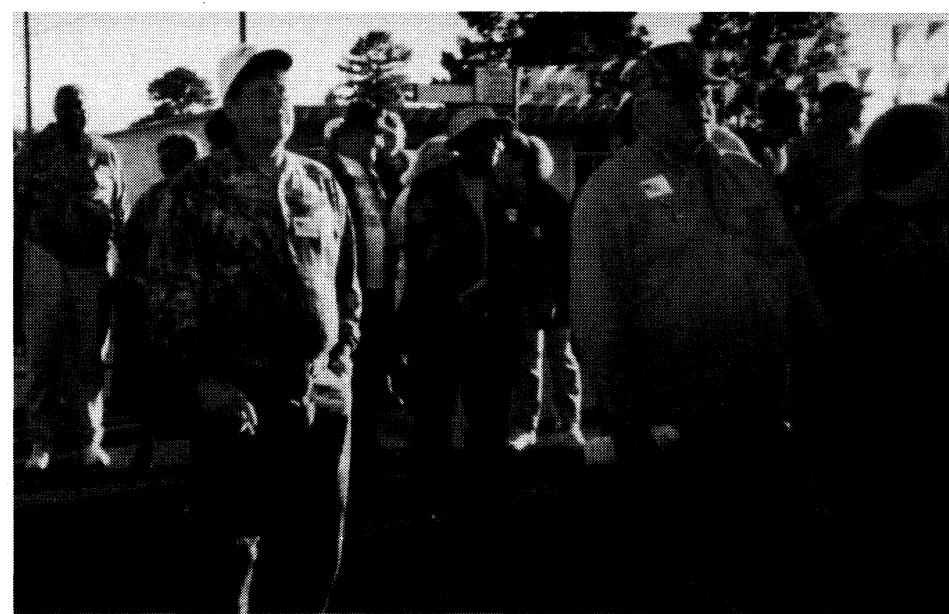
After the first explosion, more workers were sent by the company to the No. 4 section in the mine to fight what many were told was a fire. As the workers converged at the No. 4 section, a second, massive explosion was triggered. This blast, believed to have started when methane came in contact with the block light, was given "new life" by the fine coal dust raised into the air, a summary of the report stated.

That second explosion caused 12 of the 13 deaths, according to the MSHA report.

The lack of attention to rock dusting and roof control by the mine bosses are common in underground mines throughout Alabama and across the country. A number of workers at the mine, including some of those killed in the explosion, had warned and pleaded with the company about the rock dusting and other safety questions. In the case of the Jim Walter Resources No. 5 mine, one of the gassiest mines in the country and the deepest in the United States, the refusal to follow federal safety regulations proved fatal.

According to the MSHA report, at the time of the accident 31 citations throughout the mine had not been terminated. Corrections of the problems were due prior to the accident. Lauriski said the lack of rock dusting "was a serious violation and a critical factor in the force of the explosion." Government figures show the Jim Walter mine owners have a record of disregard for the safety of miners. Between 1995 and 2001 the company was issued 2,987 safety violations and action orders from MSHA, and fines of \$594,276.

The families of 10 of the miners killed in



Militant/Alice Kincaid

**Members and supporters of UMWA Local 2368 assembling for memorial march in Brookwood, Alabama, to pay tribute to 13 miners killed in Sept. 23, 2001, explosion in Jim Walter Resources Blue Creek No. 5 mine.**

the explosions have filed wrongful death lawsuits against Jim Walter Resources. Jimmy King, who represents six of the families, told the *Tuscaloosa News* on December 14, "To get the attention of the companies involved in this, it'll take \$350 million or maybe half a billion dollars. It's big business, and when you deal with big business, you don't get their attention by a fine. They'll pay the fine and they'll keep killing people."

The 27 citations against the company could carry a total maximum fine of \$1.5

million.

Kyle Parks, spokesperson for Walter Industries, parent company of JWR, said the bosses "believe our mines are safe and in compliance with all applicable regulations." As for MSHA's findings against the company, Kyle stated, "We're going to give them more information we hope will cause them to come to a different conclusion."

*Brian Taylor is a member of the UMWA and an underground coal miner at the Oak Grove Mine in Alabama.*

## 1966 transit strike showed power of working class

**In January 1966, the Transport Workers Union waged a 13-day strike that halted public transportation in New York. Following are excerpts from an article by Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs assessing the significance of the strike in the Jan. 3, 1966, *Militant*. (See page 15 for coverage of current New York transit workers' contract fight.)**

### BY FARRELL DOBBS

Young people today have had little chance to perceive the inherent social power of the working class. All their lives they have seen the unions dominated by a gang of bureaucrats who truckle to the capitalist class. These misleaders of labor support the brutal imperialist foreign policy of the ruling class. They give only lip service to the Freedom Now struggle of the Negro people, the vast majority of whom are workers.

At the point of production the bureaucrats act to cripple the union power, usurping workers' democracy to impose their own dictatorial rule over the union membership. They keep labor tied to capitalist politics, leaving the governmental power

in the hands of greedy banks and corporations.

Detractors of labor point to statistics about a relative decline of industrial workers in proportion to the population as a whole. Like a con man short-changing his victim, they juggle these figures around in an effort to show that history is rendering unionism impotent. Again, and once again, the Marxist view of the revolutionary potential of the working class is proclaimed obsolete.

### Workers' strength as social force

Some 36,000 strikers tied up public transportation in a city of eight million and the powers-that-be couldn't move a single train or bus in public service during the walkout. Clearly it was not the sheer weight of numbers that gave the transit workers this impressive strength. The decisive factor was the key functions they perform within the city's economic structure.

Similarly in national terms, it is not the relative numerical weight of the workers in terms of the population as a whole that determines their strength as a social force. It is their strategic role in the total economic complex, plus their distinctive characteristics as a relatively homogeneous social class.

Numerical strength has primary importance in terms of class solidarity among the workers involved in a given struggle, rather than in the relative size of the embattled force. The problem of solidarity begins with the strikers themselves, and it extends from there to a quest for broader labor support according to the needs of the fight. As we shall see, it was in the broader union sphere, especially among the top AFL-CIO bureaucrats, that class solidarity with the transit workers was criminally violated.

Within the Transport Workers Union the ranks stood solid throughout the strike. Not a peep came from inside the TWU that Republican Mayor Lindsay, or his Democratic collaborators at City Hall, could use to smear the strike. It was a case of aroused workers who fought for just demands and who stood united in their common needs as class brothers.

This time the TWU officials didn't capitulate without a fight as they have done before. Instead of making a deal for a union contract on City Hall's terms, they fought at least until the union had won a partial victory.

While giving them due credit for the way they stood up to City Hall, it is important to recognize the real reason why they did so. Like everybody else in the line of fire, the TWU officials were up against an aroused membership that wasn't about to hold still for a fast shuffle from anybody, either inside or outside the union. They had to fight,

or else.

What a fight the transit workers made! They brushed aside a court injunction based on an antilabor state law and went on strike in defiance of the judge and the whole City Hall gang. When their top negotiators were jailed as "law breakers," a second team stepped in to speak for the union. The strikers remained solid in the face of court proceedings intended to impose massive fines on the union. They stood up against savage smear propaganda in the capitalist news media and against a rising capitalist clamor to call out the National Guard against them.

At a crucial point in the strike the TWU ranks met the capitalist attack by demonstrating their solidarity and fighting spirit through a mass picket line at City Hall. Significant bodies of workers from other unions supported the demonstration. Unable to break the strike with injunctions, jailings and threats of fines, Lindsay appealed to "responsible" top officials of the AFL-CIO for help in stopping the strike.

### 'Responsible' officials stop the strike

George Meany responded by approving the jailing of the TWU leaders with the remark that Mike Quill "wanted to go to jail." As though that scabby comment wasn't criminal enough, he added that Mayor Lindsay, who was trying to break the strike, was "handling himself very well."

After the strike Walter Reuther proved his "respectability" with a statement that "society can't tolerate stoppages" like the transit strike.

Despite all obstacles the transit workers won a partial victory by forcing concessions from City Hall that it hadn't intended to make. The fact remains, however, that the settlement fell far short of the workers' just demands and they remain victims of gross wage inequities.

Unmoved by the serious economic problems still plaguing the TWU ranks, President Johnson denounced the gains they did win as a violation of his wage "guideposts." Johnson followed through with a call for further anti-strike laws.

Both the Republican Mayor and the Democratic President proved themselves enemies of the transit workers. The strikers got nothing they didn't fight for and even then the lackeys of capitalism cheated them out of a just settlement. The workers will get only what they can win through militant use of the union power at the job level and through mobilization of their class political strength in an independent labor party.

Labor's inherent capacity to take that road is demonstrated by the transit strike, as is the workers' growing desire to do so.

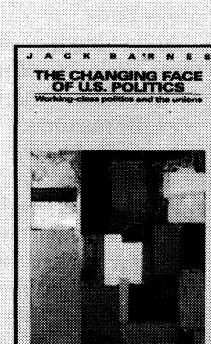
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##### Jack Barnes

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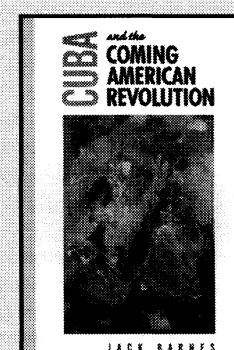


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by Jack Barnes

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# Houston daily reports on INS detention of 'Militant' writer

The following is a translation of an article that appeared in the December 10 issue of *El Dia*, the Spanish-language daily in Houston. The article was headlined, "The INS arrests a U.S. resident journalist in Houston."

BY JESÚS LÓPEZ TAPIA

HOUSTON, Texas—Róger Calero, a Nicaraguan and associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, published in New York, was arrested at the Houston Intercontinental Airport by immigration authorities as he was returning from Cuba and Mexico where he went on a reporting assignment.

The facts were reported to *El Dia* yesterday, Monday, by Mrs. Sarah Katz, Calero's wife.

"When my husband arrived at the airport last Tuesday, they told him that they were denying him entrance to the United States and they transferred him to an Immigration Service jail and he's facing exclusion from this country," she said. "Róger, who I've been married to for a year, has lived in the United States for the last 17 years and has held permanent residence since 1990."

Interviewed about this matter, Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) spokesperson Luisa Aquino said she could not comment on the Calero case because it concerns a permanent resident of the United States.

"This person is seeking to present his case before an immigration judge to be able

to fight to be able to stay here," said Aquino. "I can only say that any person, whether or not they are a permanent resident, who has committed a serious crime may be deported to their country of origin."

## The charges against Calero

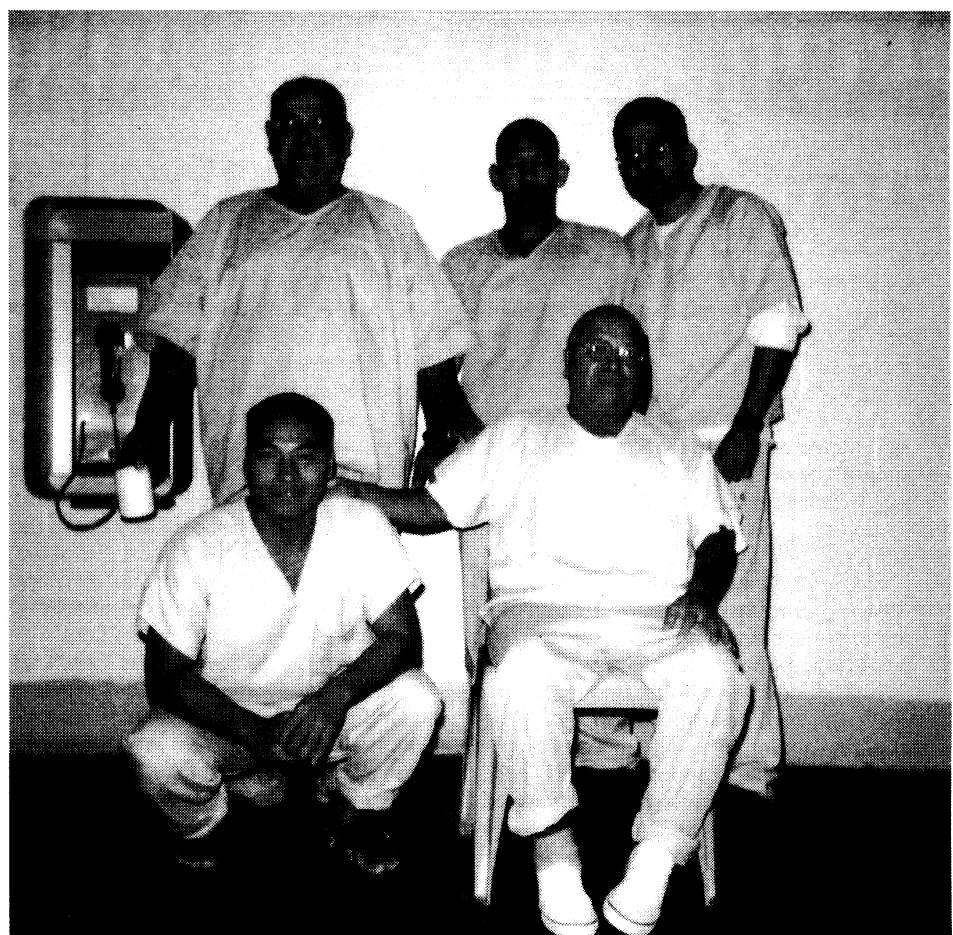
The immigration police is seeking to "exclude" Calero—deny him re-entry into the United States—and deport him to Nicaragua, his country of origin, on the basis of a 1988 conviction, when he was a high school student in Los Angeles and was accused of selling marijuana to an undercover policeman. Faced with the prospect of going to jail, Calero copped a plea and received a suspended 60-day sentence with three years probation.

Mrs. Katz, a U.S. citizen, explained that when her husband applied for permanent residence in 1989 he specifically included information about his conviction, which immigration officials waived in order to grant him a "green card" that gave him the right to live and work in the United States. In 2000, the INS replaced his card, having received all pertinent information about the 12-year-old conviction.

Calero, who is 34 years old, and his wife Sarah now live in Newark, New Jersey, and they have retained the services of a lawyer to handle the case.

## Unjust arrest, says immigrant advocate

Martha Olvera, representative of the



Róger Calero, standing at right, with fellow inmates in INS jail in Houston. He spent 10 days locked up after returning from reporting assignment abroad. Seated is Manuel Garcia, carpenter interviewed by Calero for the last issue of the *Militant*.

Coalition for Dignity and Amnesty, declared that Róger Calero's arrest is unjust.

"I agree that people should be punished when they commit a crime, but when this crime was committed as a youth and was paid for, I think that the person should have another opportunity and not be punished for the rest of their life," Olvera said. "Be-

sides, the young man received his permanent resident card and the immigration authorities renewed it two years ago and gave it to him once again. So that's an error by the INS, because from the very beginning they shouldn't have allowed him to make his life here and become completely disconnected from his country to then later yank him out of here and send him back."

She emphasized that organizations that support immigrant rights in Houston are giving their moral support to Calero's wife.

They are asking people to send protest letters to Hipolito Acosta, INS Director in Houston, at 126 Northpoint Drive, Houston, TX 77060; Tel. 281-774-4610. Fax: 281-774-5989; with a copy to Calero's magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, 410 West Street, New York, NY, 10014 and by fax: (212) 924-6040.

The Political Rights Defense Fund in New York asks the community for financial contributions to help cover the rapidly growing legal and other expenses. Checks can be made out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 761, Church St. Station, New York, NY 10007. These contributions are tax-deductible.

## How you can help

Defenders of Róger Calero, *Perspectiva Mundial* associate editor and *Militant* journalist, have launched a campaign to press the INS to drop deportation hearings.

These are some of the things you can do:

- Fax protest messages to Hipolito Acosta, District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 126 Northpoint Drive, Houston, TX 77060. The fax number is: 281-774-5989. Originals of the letters should be mailed to that address. Copies should be sent to Calero's magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. The INS district office in Houston can also be called at 281-774-4610.

- Sign and get others to help circulate petitions demanding justice for Calero. A fact sheet and petition are available on the *Militant*'s web site, [www.themilitant.com](http://www.themilitant.com)

- Contributions are urgently needed to cover the substantial legal and other expenses. Checks should be written out to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 761, Church Street Station, New York, NY 10007. Contributions are tax-deductible.

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By Larry Seigle

In New International no. 6

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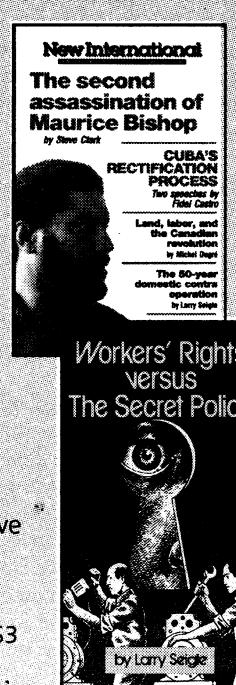
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# Defenders of Calero fight exclusion move

Continued from front page

those present had been part of the emergency effort to have Calero released, and planned to support ongoing efforts to defeat the deportation move by the INS.

The campaign to defend Calero's right to live and work as a journalist in this country has been promoted and supported by a broad array of individuals and organizations, from the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, to former co-workers of Calero's at a meat-packing plant in St. Paul, Minnesota, to defenders of the rights of immigrants.

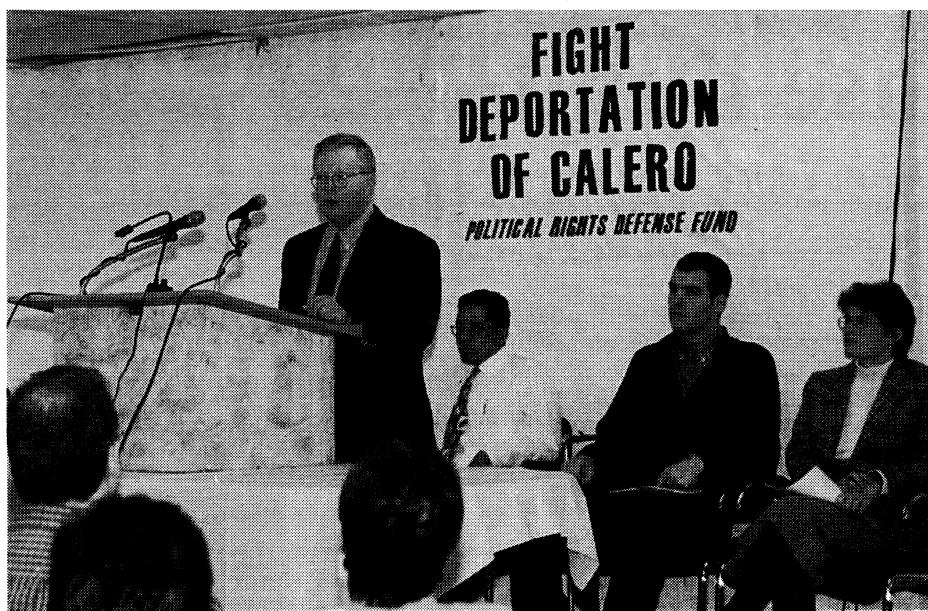
Defenders of Calero's rights "are now locked in a toe-to-toe boxing match with the government," John Studer, the director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, told the audience. Calero and Studer were the principal speakers at the event.

"Each step we take, they try to counter," Studer said. "We must organize to respond quickly and broadly to the moves they make in their continuing campaign to throw Calero out of the country."

## An attack on publications

*Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel opened the meeting. The federal government's attempt to deport the journalist and editor, he said, "is an attack not only on Calero's rights and those of others, but an attack on the ability to produce these two publications."

Calero had been thrown into the INS jail in Houston and placed under exclusion proceedings on December 3 as he returned to the United States through the Houston Intercontinental Airport. "Over the previous weeks he had been on assignment covering three important events," said Koppel—an international conference in Havana on the



John Studer, executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, speaks at December 15 meeting to plan next steps in defense of Róger Calero (in white shirt). Defenders of Calero's rights are broadening the campaign to stop his deportation by the INS.

Free Trade Area of the Americas, and in Guadalajara, Mexico, the large annual international book fair as well as a student conference organized by the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students.

The staffs of the two publications immediately got out the word about the arrest and initiated a campaign to get Calero out of jail and demand the exclusion proceedings against him be dropped. The fight struck a chord with others and became much broader.

Meanwhile, Koppel said, "once locked up, Róger kept doing what he has been

doing for years: talking to fellow workers inside the jail, getting their stories, and accurately reporting the truth, the reality that hundreds of thousands of workers in this country face.

"We can't predict how long this fight will last or what the final outcome will be. But one thing you can count on is that no matter what happens, no matter what country Róger is in, he will continue to be a socialist and do what he has been doing for years." Calero was elected this year to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party as one of its youngest members.

Studer reported that the Political Rights

Defense Fund is organizing broad support and fund-raising for Calero's defense effort, and has arranged legal representation in New York and Houston (see article on PRDF on page 10).

In moving to revoke Calero's permanent residence status and bar him from the country, Studer noted, INS agents cited a 1988 conviction. At that time Calero, a high school student, was charged with selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop. "Under the threat of serving time in prison, Róger—then 18—copped a plea and received a 60-day suspended sentence, three years' probation, and a \$50 fine."

## 'Yes' to green card application

The following year Calero applied for U.S. permanent residence, providing detailed information to the federal authorities about his conviction. The INS approved Calero's application and granted his green card. "Ten years later Róger applied for the card's renewal," said Studer. "Again they said yes."

Thousands of immigrants are in a similar position as Calero, stopped as they return from traveling abroad to visit family or for some other reason, said Studer. "In recent months the federal government has been taking local court records from across the country and pouring them into the INS computer system. An increased number of people are being jailed and deported for offenses dating back many years."

In 2001, said Studer, the INS formally removed almost 177,000 people. More than 70,000 immigrants were summarily deported for "criminal violations."

"At the same time Calero has a big advantage. He is a reporter for the *Militant* Continued on Page 12

## Inside INS jail: U.S. 'justice' at work

Continued from front page

down a long list of government and other construction projects he had worked on since moving to the United States 34 years ago. Tovar, who was living in Nacogdoches, Texas, northeast of Houston, at the time of his arrest, arrived from Mexico in 1968. He became a permanent resident through the federal government's 1986 general amnesty. A year ago he began his application for U.S. citizenship.

*El Abuelo* (Grandpa), as the younger workers here call Tovar, swapping experiences in the prison dormitory, was arrested a few weeks ago when he went to the INS offices to renew his expired green card. The immigration police is trying to use a conviction from more than 30 years ago as grounds to deport him.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, passed in 1996, expanded the number of crimes for which a person could be deemed "deportable," including offenses as minor as trespassing or joyriding. The INS has sought to impose its own interpretation of the law by applying it retroactively, that is, to convictions that took place before the law was enacted.

One of the workers locked up here, originally from Nigeria, is facing deportation over a trespassing charge. What was his crime? Working as a door-to-door salesman and having the bad luck of knocking on the door of a Houston cop.

Deportation on this basis can mean not only losing your job but your retirement benefits. Manuel García, 63, a carpenter from Utah, tells Tovar and others that this is what he faces if deported on the basis of a 1987 conviction. He has lived and worked in this country since 1974, gained his permanent residence 16 years ago, and would be eligible for retirement benefits next year.

"They let us work and work, and then when we get old, they want to throw us out," said Tovar.

Many of those here were arrested after reporting to INS offices in order to renew a work permit or follow up on a pending application. For example, Artemio Monroy, 28, a hotel worker from Houston, was applying for his permanent residence through his wife, a U.S. citizen. He was arrested when he came in to renew a work permit

he had received in 2000.

Monroy, originally from Guatemala, had been granted political asylum in 1992. But the INS issued a deportation order against him in 1996 after the Guatemalan government and guerrilla forces signed a political settlement to end the civil war in that country. In the meantime, Monroy has married and has a one-year old daughter, and his wife is currently pregnant. If deported he hopes to move back as close to the border as possible to work and help support his family in Houston.

### Arrested in post-September 11 sweep

"I am convinced that I am here simply because I am Muslim," said Karim Bey Slimani, 27, who was born in Algeria. Slimani has been jailed here since October 2001.

"I am the only one left of those who were locked up here after September 11," he said, reporting that about 40 immigrants from Pakistan and other Middle Eastern countries were brought to this INS jail after that date. Slimani has not been charged with any crime associated with the attack on the Twin Towers. An estimated 1,200 to 2,000 people, mostly immigrants from the Middle East and South Asia, were rounded up over the past year and in many cases held for months without criminal charges. They were often picked up on some minor charge such as not having their immigration papers in order.

Slimani, who had a deportation order dating back to when he first entered the country in 1996, is now being held indefinitely by the INS, which claims he has not collaborated with the "investigation process" in providing travel documents required to complete the paperwork for his deportation.

Despite the fact that the INS has his Algerian birth certificate, which they seized when they searched his home at the time of the arrest, and despite several phone conferences with Algerian consular officials to verify his identity, the INS deportation officer in charge of his case maintains that Slimani is Palestinian, insisting that he does not speak Arabic with a North African accent and that his passport "appears" fake.

Last September 30, having exhausted all administrative appeals with the INS, his

lawyer filed a petition for a writ of habeas corpus, seeking a court hearing. The petition pointed to a series of violations of his rights.

Under immigration law, a person facing deportation is supposed to be removed within 90 days of receiving a final deportation order, and the period can sometimes be extended to six months.

The day before he was arrested, Slimani received a call from an FBI agent on the cell phone he uses for his job as a cab driver in Houston. The cop asked Slimani for a meeting. At the meeting, the FBI agent asked him if he knew anyone who had celebrated the September 11 attacks, and went on to ask if he was Muslim and how often he went to the mosque, Slimani reported. It was during this interrogation that he told the FBI agent he had a pending deportation case. The next morning the INS arrested him.

The INS then told Slimani that if he had any information about the September 11 attacks, they could help him "resolve" his situation. "He was assuming that we are all terrorists," Slimani said. "The cop then took me to my apartment, where he began searching everywhere. There he found my birth certificate, and \$30,000 I had been saving at home." A few days later, when his uncle stopped by to check on his apartment, the money was gone.

At one point, the deportation officer threatened that he was going to be deported to another country. They also warned that if he "kept playing games" they would jail him for three to five years, Slimani said.

"I have committed no crimes. I do not use any drugs, I don't drink, I am clean," he said. "Many people who came after me have already left. I just want an opportunity to clear my case, but I cannot do it from here," he added.

According to the federal government, the vast majority of the more than 1,200 immigrants it swept up after September 11 have been released, deported, or convicted of minor crimes that are not "terrorist-related."

The government reports that only six of the 765 people arrested in the "antiterror" sweep on immigration charges are still in INS prisons. "I am one of them," Slimani said.

## Meatpackers plan defense fund raiser

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789 at Dakota Premium Foods in South St. Paul, Minnesota, have been active in the fight to prevent the moves by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to deport Róger Calero, one of their former co-workers.

Before joining the editorial staffs of *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant*, Calero worked at Dakota Premium. He was part of an important organizing drive that gained union recognition and a contract.

Local 789 has made its union hall available to host a meeting to get the word out about the case and to raise funds for the defense campaign, reported Miguel Olvera, who works in the boning department, in a telephone interview. Plans for the event are under way.

The campaign to defend Calero received an early boost when Local 789 president Bill Pearson sent a protest message to the INS district director in Houston, calling the arrest and exclusion proceedings "a travesty of justice."

As soon as they heard of Calero's arrest on December 3, many unionists at the Dakota Premium plant began to gather support for the fight.

"We wrote a message to the INS signed by workers in the plant," said Olvera, one of the leading participants in the union fight. "What happened to Róger happens to a lot of people, and could happen to many of us," he said.

Workers in the boning department began circulating a petition protesting Calero's arrest and the INS attempt to keep him out of the country. The word spread through the plant. All the shop stewards learned about the case by the next day when they came to the union hall for a meeting.

"We moved right away because we knew they could deport him at any moment, and it was important that the INS knew that he had support," said Olvera, describing the response. "I filled two sheets with signatures myself."

# Calero case is latest fight for Political Rights Defense Fund

BY SAM MANUEL

Having backed important political rights campaigns for decades, the Political Rights Defense Fund has agreed to help raise the funds needed in the campaign to win a halt to the government's deportation proceedings against Róger Calero. A permanent resident of the United States, Calero is an associate editor of the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* and a staff writer for the socialist newsweekly the *Militant*.

Calero joins several other targets of government persecution who have drawn on the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) since its formation in the 1970s.

The PRDF grew out of the nonpartisan defense committee set up to publicize and win broad backing for the legal fight launched in 1973 by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In that landmark lawsuit the socialist organizations charged the government and its agencies with conducting "illegal acts of blacklisting, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism."

According to the trial documents, the government disruption program had begun in 1936 with a series of directives issued by President Roosevelt to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover. Five years later Hoover wrote to the bureau's New York office complaining about the lack of information regarding the SWP, and instructed the agency to make every effort to obtain from book shops, informants and "other sources" whatever written materials existed about the working-class organization.

The trial began on April 2, 1981, after eight years of pretrial hearings in which thousands of FBI documents were forced into the open, and lasted three months. The defendants included the attorney general; the secretaries of state, defense, and treasury; the directors of the FBI, CIA, Secret Service, and Defense Intelligence Agency; commissioners of the INS and the Civil Service; and the president of the United States.

Five years after the trial ended federal judge Thomas Griesa issued a sweeping indictment of the government. His August 25, 1986 ruling stated that the activities of the FBI were "patently unconstitutional" and "without statutory or regulatory authority."

Additional months of court hearings followed, aimed at determining the character of an injunction against the government to be issued by the judge. In those sessions the government admitted to having gathered at least 10 million pages of files on the SWP and YSA. Ten government agencies filed affidavits arguing that "national security" would be adversely affected by any injunction.

## Broad injunction issued

The judge rejected the government's argument and issued a broad bar on cop agencies using any of the files to target the socialists. The 15-year battle ended in 1988 when the government dropped its appeal just days before the filing deadline. In addition to the injunction the court ordered the gov-

ernment to pay the SWP and YSA \$264,000 in damages and \$390,000 to their attorneys in legal fees.

The successful outcome of the trial would not have been possible without the political and financial support of the tens of thousands of defenders of civil liberties organized through the Political Rights Defense Fund. The fund held public meetings at every critical juncture and organized to get the maximum press coverage for the legal fight. It also published literature on the case.

The list of PRDF sponsors grew to include thousands of prominent individuals, victims of police repression, and fighters for democratic rights. They included six members of Congress; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; past victims of government repression; leaders of antiwar organizations and women's rights groups; and members of the Communist Party, Democratic Socialists of America, and other political parties.

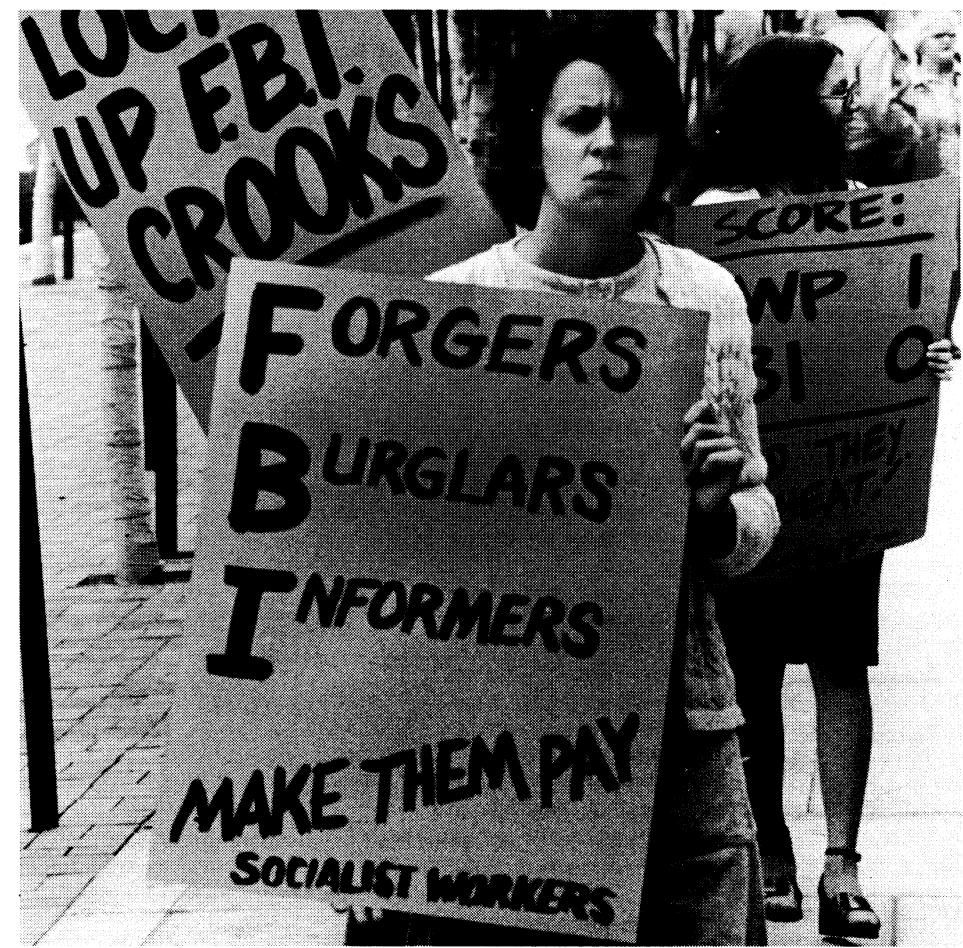
After paying the PRDF's debts in full and closing its bank account, the board of directors of the fund established the foundation of the same name as part of ongoing efforts to make this victory available to others.

The ruling in the case placed a valuable new weapon in the hands of all working people fighting to defend their rights and living standards and all those struggling for progressive social change. The record of the fight can be found in *FBI on Trial—The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit against Government Spying*, published by Pathfinder Press.

## Hector Marroquín campaign

Following the successful conclusion of its first campaign, the foundation supported the fight of Iranian-born socialist Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh to halt her deportation. It also backed efforts beginning in the late 1970s to defeat the government's attempt to deport Mexican-born immigrant worker Hector Marroquín, and to establish his right to permanent residence.

Marroquín had been active in student protests in Mexico. According to records uncovered during his case, the FBI began keeping files on him when he was a 15-year-old high school student in Matamoros, Mexico.



Militant/Glen Campbell

1976 picket in Cleveland, Ohio. Political Rights Defense Fund grew out of nonpartisan defense committee to win broad backing for Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against government spying on political and labor organizations.

Having lived and worked in the United States as an undocumented worker for a few years Marroquín was arrested while trying to reenter the country after visiting with family in Mexico.

Backed by the PRDF, for 10 years Marroquín spoke up and down the country winning broad support for his case. Because of his socialist views, the INS stubbornly opposed his asylum claim. His request was finally rejected by the courts.

In the next stage of the fight, the PRDF and other Marroquín supporters drew on the landmark victory in the just-concluded suit against the government.

The INS had been one of the government agencies on the losing end of that case. During the trial its representatives had argued that denial of access to information from the FBI regarding membership in the SWP would "impact [its] ability to properly determine an individual's proper immigration status."

The judge effectively rejected that reasoning, making no distinction between citizens and non-citizens in his decision prohibiting the government agencies from using the information illegally gathered against members of the socialist organizations. This marked an important gain for all

immigrant workers.

In late 1986, less than one month after the government withdrew its appeal in *SWP vs. Attorney General*, Marroquín won a temporary residence card under the government's immigrant amnesty program. Following that he was permitted a long-delayed hearing on his application for permanent residence at which the government was forced to concede there was no political barrier to his being granted a visa.

Two years later the foundation initiated the defense effort for Mark Curtis, an Iowa meat packer. In 1988 Curtis, who had been active in opposing police brutality, supporting the rights of undocumented workers, and opposing the U.S.-backed contra war in Central America, was framed up on burglary and rape charges and severely beaten while in the custody of the Des Moines police. Earlier the FBI had kept files on Curtis when he was active in the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Despite the broad international support amassed in his defense, the socialist worker was convicted in September 1988 and sentenced to 25 years in prison. The fight took more than seven years before Curtis was released to parole authorities in Illinois.

## Detroit: protesters oppose cop checkpoints

BY PETER THIERJUNG

DETROIT—Stretching along Vernor, a main street on Detroit's southwest side, some 80 people protested here December 8 against U.S. Border Patrol checkpoints. Participants held signs in English and Spanish reading, "No human being is illegal," "Amnesty now," and "Stop the Border Patrol's harassment of immigrants."

The action was sparked by the federal agency's placement of checkpoints on state roads beginning November 12. The first checkpoints were erected on secondary roads in Port Huron and Trenton, to the north and south of this city. Stopping all traffic, the Border Patrol agents demanded proof of citizenship from travelers they deemed "suspicious." The primary target was "illegal aliens" who allegedly cross the border from Canada, explained an official.

Many drivers passing by honked their support for the protest or signaled their agreement with a thumbs-up sign. A couple of drivers expressed opposition, shouting racist epithets.

Latino workers who participated led the chanting, calling for equal rights and an end to the racist and discriminatory practices of both the Border Patrol and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. They shouted in Spanish, "Somos iguales, no somos animales (We are equal, we are not animals.)"

Workers at a meatpacking plant in the area helped build the action. Days earlier, they had formed several teams and fanned out in the district posting up and handing out fly-

ers. One team went to an Arabic neighborhood and met a worker from the Middle East who translated the flyer into Arabic.

The workers funded the flyer distribution through an in-plant collection.

## Immigrants from Latin America

Detroit's working-class southwest is home to many immigrants from Central and Latin America, a majority of whom are Mexican-born. The district borders on Dearborn, a suburb with a majority Arab population that has been targeted by federal, state, and local police agencies in the rulers' so-called "war on terrorism."

The Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee has issued statements protesting the checkpoints and the racial profiling applied in the traffic stops.

The publicity given the cop action helped to whet interest in the protest. Such checkpoints are routinely set up on the southern border with Mexico. But for the first time federal border patrol agents are using these methods on the northern U.S. border with Canada.

Federal law says that border patrol agents do not need "probable cause" or a traffic violation to stop and question drivers. Based on U.S. Supreme Court rulings, the border cops can stop and question individuals for any number of reasons, including behavior, race, and proximity to the border.

The law also allows for checkpoints to be set up as far as 100 miles from an international border or shoreline, thus encompassing most of the state of Michigan. "In

other words," a December 9 Detroit *Free Press* article stated, "some constitutional rights of millions of Michiganders are weaker than those of U.S. citizens who live in the interior of the country."

The checkpoints to date have targeted southeast Michigan where there are larger concentrations of immigrants, particularly around the Detroit metropolitan area.

## Meatpackers sign up to back Calero fight

BY DON MACKLE

DETROIT, Michigan—Following the December 8 demonstration to protest the initiation of Border Patrol checkpoints in Michigan, some 20 workers and students attended an open house at the Detroit Pathfinder Bookstore. There they heard about the launching of the fight to free Róger Calero from INS custody (see page 1.) Some were meat packers from the area who had met the journalist at a house meeting when he was in Detroit to speak at a Militant Labor Forum. Many signed up for information on how they could help.

Supporters of Calero's case in Detroit have set a goal of raising \$1,000 to help cover the costs of the defense fight. In the first couple days of calling they raised more than \$400.

**From Pathfinder**

**FBI on Trial**

The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit against Government Spying

Edited by Margaret Jayko

"The victory in the case fought from 1973 to 1987 increases the space for politics, expands the de facto use of the Bill of Rights, increases confidence of working people that you can be political and hold the deepest convictions against the government and it's your right to do so and act upon them." —From the introduction.

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# Fight against deportation wins broad support

The following are excerpts from some of the letters sent to the Immigration and Naturalization Service's district director in Houston, Hipolito Acosta, demanding that deportation proceedings against *Militant* staff writer and *Perspectiva Mundial* associate editor Róger Calero be dropped.

Calero was seized by the INS December 3 as he came through the Houston Intercontinental Airport while returning from a reporting assignment in Latin America. He was jailed and proceedings to throw him out of the country began, based on a 1988 conviction for selling about an ounce of marijuana when he was in high school. In 1990 the INS waived this conviction and granted him permanent residence. They renewed his legal status in 2000.

**Bill Pearson, president, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789, South St. Paul, Minnesota.**

My name is Bill Pearson and I am President of UFCW Local 789. We are located in South St. Paul, Minnesota and have a membership of 8,000.

I came to know Róger when he was working in a packing house in South St. Paul. It was the Dakota Premium plant, and Róger was an active and committed leader in helping stabilizing the workers and bring about a labor agreement. He was bright, articulate and well read. His co-workers saw him as a person to turn to for help. So did I.



**Bill Pearson**

Making him leave this country would be an injustice. I implore you, do not deport him. Allow him to stay and Latino workers will be the better for it.

**Bruce D. Nestor, president, National Lawyers Guild, Minneapolis, Minnesota.**

I am writing to request that you promptly drop exclusion proceedings against Róger Calero and that pending any decision to terminate proceedings, he be released on bond into the United States.

The National Lawyers Guild is an organization of over 5,000 law students, attorneys, and legal workers, many of whom are active in the field of immigration. I will continue to monitor the status of this matter and hope that you will act promptly to reverse the actions taken against Mr. Calero.

**Gladys Williams, People's Tribunal of Valdosta, Georgia.**

I think it is unfair to take away Róger Calero's human rights and deport him to Nicaragua only because he visited Cuba and while he was there learned some things about the truth about America.

Freeing him from jail is a step in the right direction. I am in full support of the deportation hearing being dropped. I support immigrant rights.

**José Oliva, director, Interfaith Workers' Rights Center, Chicago, Illinois.**

Our organization represents religious leaders and congregations throughout the greater Metropolitan Chicago Area. Our members are concerned with what would appear to be a targeted form of deportation against someone who stands up on behalf of others.

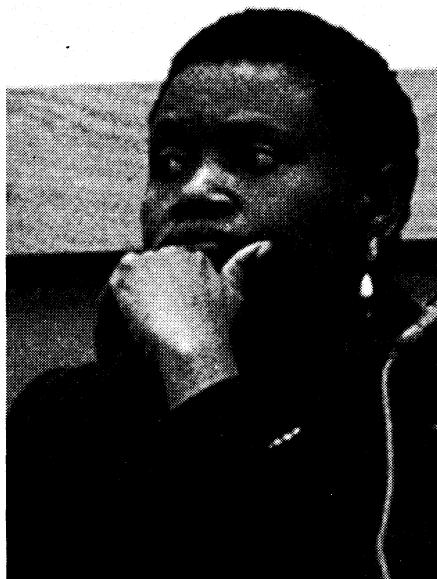
Besides his position as an editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Calero has dedicated his life in the United States to help the less fortunate.

As an Interfaith organization we must ask if this is how a nation repays someone who has devoted their life to achieving greater justice?

**Marleine Bastien, executive director, Fanm Ayisyen Nan Miyami, Miami, Florida.**

I am writing to protest the unjust detention of Róger Calero.

You are attempting to exclude him and deport him based on a 1988 high school



**Marleine Bastien**

conviction, for which he received a suspended sentence and a three year probation. This was waived by your agency at the time he was granted permanent residency. This arbitrary use of minor convictions of long ago as a basis for deportation is all too familiar and completely unjustified.

This jailing is not only an outrageous attack on the legal rights of Mr. Calero as a permanent resident, it further fits in with the abuse that I see heaped on honest, hardworking immigrant men and women every day, in my work as the Executive Director of Fanm Ayisyen Nan Miyami, Inc. (Haitian Women of Miami).

Please, release Mr. Calero and stop the deportation hearings. Let him return to New Jersey, to his magazine, and to his work.

**Jane Guskin, Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants, New York, New York.**

I am writing on behalf of the Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants (CHRI), a New York City based grassroots advocacy organization, to express my concern over the dec. 3 arrest of Róger Calero by the INS in Houston, Texas.

As you know, Róger Calero has been a lawful permanent resident of the United States since 1990. When the INS approved his permanent residence, it had full knowledge of his 1988 conviction.

Given that fact, I would like to know why the INS has taken the highly unusual step of revisiting Calero's conviction at this time.

I think most Americans would agree that it is an inappropriate use of INS resources to selectively pursue proceedings against lawful permanent residents with US citizen families, with the aim of squelching media coverage of peaceful opposition activities.

**David L. Wilson, Committee for the Release of Farouk Abdel-Muhti, New York, New York.**

We have difficulty understanding on what legal grounds the INS would attempt to exclude Mr. Calero now. The situation raises the disturbing possibility that Mr. Calero is being held to keep him from carrying out activities like reporting on opposition to the FTAA and other projects promoted by the present administration. Reinforcing this concern is our experience with our friend Farouk Abdel-Muhti, a New York-area activist who was detained last April after he began appearing on a community radio station arranging interviews with human rights activists in his native Palestine.

The Committee for the Release of Farouk Abdel-Muhti asks the INS to release Mr. Calero immediately, end its effort to deport him, and allow him to continue serving our community through his work as a journalist.

**Rev. Daniel Dale, Agape House, Chicago, Illinois.**

Mr. Calero is a journalist and a permanent resident of the USA married to a U.S. citizen. His work has taken him throughout Latin America for many years. Your de-

tention of Mr. Calero is a direct threat to many of the basic rights and freedoms that are essential to the United States of America that you are sworn to protect: freedom of the press, freedom to travel, freedom of political and religious beliefs.

As a minister of the Christian Church that has served as a missionary in Latin America and takes mission teams there every year, I am especially concerned about the detention of Mr. Calero because of the implications it has for the Church. The mission work of the church depends upon the ability to move freely in and out of the USA. Many of our religious communities have members from other countries that live and work in the USA. Many of our journals that report on global mission employ journalists from other countries. If Mr. Calero can be detained and threatened with deportation, then so can any of our church members from other countries. The Directors of Mission Boards from many national church bodies are watching the case of Mr. Calero very closely.

**Willie Evans, councilman, Clayton, Louisiana.**

I, Mr. Willie L. Evans, am a member of the Christian Baptist denomination, a councilman with the Town of Clayton, LA, and a member of the United Steelworkers of America.

Recently, I learned that you detained Mr. Róger Calero a legal Nicaraguan immigrant in America with intentions of permanently deporting him out of this country. I'm protesting this action taken in the form of this letter.

I feel this is an unjust act; and it is a hinder to him from performing his job as a journalist.

**Hector Flores, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, Illinois.**

Given the fact that Mr. Calero's youthful transgression has been known to you for at least 12 years and you have twice previously approved his application for permanent residency I can not see the justification for a hearing whose goal is to deport him to Nicaragua.

I respectfully request that legal processes begun against Mr. Calero be stopped and that he be permitted to resume his normal functioning as a resident of the United States.

**Baxter Smith, editor, Community Times, Westminster, Maryland.**

Mr. Calero has made several reporting trips outside the United States in his capacity with *Perspectiva Mundial*. So, it is astounding and bewildering that he is being detained at this point.

I urge you to reconsider your detention of Mr. Calero. He was doing nothing other than what countless other members of our profession routinely do on reporting trips.

**Rev. David Fallon, pastor, Parroquia la Sagrada Familia, Cleveland, Ohio.**

I write this letter to express my consternation and outrage for the treatment given to Róger Calero.

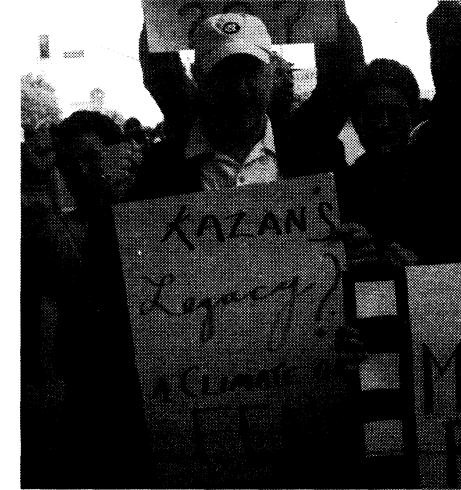
As an associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* he makes an important contribution to the diffusion of knowledge and culture to many diverse groups. I urge you to use your discretionary power to permit his release and to resolve his case fairly.

**Nick Castle, Hollywood film director, Los Angeles, California.**

My name is Nick Castle. I have spent the last thirty years writing and directing motion pictures. As a writer I have contributed to many films including, Steven Spielberg's *Hook*, and John Carpenter's *Escape from New York*. As a director my credits include, *Tap*, *Dennis the Menace*, and *Major Payne*.

It is with great concern that I have learned of the case of Róger Calero who has been imprisoned by your department. Mr. Calero is a seasoned writer and editor for the respected journal *Perspectiva Mundial*.

I take attacks on the Bill of Rights and the First Amendment seriously. As an active member of the Directors Guild of America



**Nick Castle**

(DGA) and the Writers Guild of America (WGA) I will take this case to our membership for consideration. We in the Hollywood community have learned many a hard lesson about government interference in the arts. I'm sure many will find this case of a journalist threatened with deportation for simply speaking his mind as abhorrent as I do.

## Young Socialists join fight against the deportation of Róger Calero

The following is a statement issued by the Young Socialists on December 16.

The Young Socialists join in the fight to demand that the Immigration and Naturalization Service immediately drop its efforts to deport Róger Calero, the associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial* and staff writer for the *Militant*. The INS arrested Calero December 3 when he arrived at the Houston Intercontinental Airport from a reporting assignment in Latin America, jailed him for 10 days, and is seeking to revoke his permanent residency status and deport him to Nicaragua.

Calero was returning from Havana, Cuba, where he covered a conference on the Free Trade Area of the Americas attended by trade unionists and others; and in Guadalajara, Mexico, reporting on the Guadalajara international book fair and the congress of the Continental Organization of Caribbean and Latin American Students, both held in that city. Members of the Young Socialists took part in these events. We appeal to the students and others who attended those conferences to join us in the fight to stop Calero's deportation.

To try to deport him, the immigration cops are using a 1988 conviction on Calero's record, when as a high school student in Los Angeles he copped a plea to charges of selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop—a victimization many young people are familiar with. Yet the INS itself granted him

permanent residence with full knowledge of that record, in effect waiving the conviction.

The federal government is seeking to deprive Calero of his right to live and work as a journalist here. Many young people can identify with his fight—from the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who face INS terror in workplaces and neighborhoods, to those who confront police harassment and harsh laws used to criminalize working people and youth.

These attacks show the true face of the capitalist "justice" system. They are part of a war that the billionaire rulers of the United States are waging against workers and farmers at home, which is tied to the wars of plunder they are preparing abroad to defend their declining empire. The YS is committed to the fight to overturn this dog-eat-dog system of exploitation and to join with working people and the oppressed around the globe in creating a world based on human solidarity.

The publications that Calero helps produce—the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*—are ours. We will continue to get out these political weapons at campuses, street tables, workplaces and plant gates.

We pledge to campaign vigorously across the country against the INS efforts to deport Calero—working together with the broadest possible forces. We know that many will see this fight as their own.

Stop the INS deportation proceedings against Róger Calero now!

# Defenders of Calero organize to fight deportation moves

Continued from Page 9

and *Perspectiva Mundial*—with colleagues determined to back him—and a longtime union and political fighter with former co-workers and fighters who are also eager to come to his defense."

Once the campaign got rolling, he said, "both his defenders on one side and the government on the other began learning how many others were itching for a fight" around the issues of journalistic freedom and immigrant rights.

## Response among journalists

Many reporters have felt increasing attacks on their rights, said Studer. Journalists have done jail time for refusing to reveal their sources, while the government has drawn a curtain of secrecy over court hearings for those detained since Sept. 11, 2001. One organization that has responded to the latest attack is the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press, which has prominently displayed Calero's case on its web site.

Pointing to the response by immigrant rights groups, he said protest letters have been sent by the New York-based Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants, and supporters of Farouk Abdel-Muhti, a Palestinian activist in New York who was arrested last year.

Trade unionists and other workers who know Calero have also responded. Fifty workers at Dakota Premium Foods in South St. Paul, Minnesota—a plant where Calero worked before coming onto the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* editorial staffs, play-

ing an active part in the groundbreaking fight to form a union there—have signed the petition so far (see accompanying article.)

United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789 president Bill Pearson was one of the first to send a message of protest to the INS, noting that "Róger was an active and committed leader" in the union fight at the Dakota Premium plant. "His co-workers saw him as a person to turn to for help," Pearson added. "So did I."

The staff at a nearby deli where Calero stops daily for coffee and sandwiches contributed \$100 to the defense fund and signed protest messages.

## INS counterpunch

In face of the unexpected wave of protest messages, "the INS made a calculated counter-move," Studer explained. "They let Róger out. In doing so they removed the rawest aspect of the campaign—the fact that he was thrown in jail and faced a threat of immediate exclusion."

The release dealt with another thorn in their side, he said—"the fact that Róger had immediately begun interviewing fellow prisoners and reporting on conditions in the Houston INS jail."

Officials are hoping to "defuse, confuse, and slow down the defense campaign, while they press their effort to throw Róger out of the country and deal blows to his publications and the rights of all," he said.

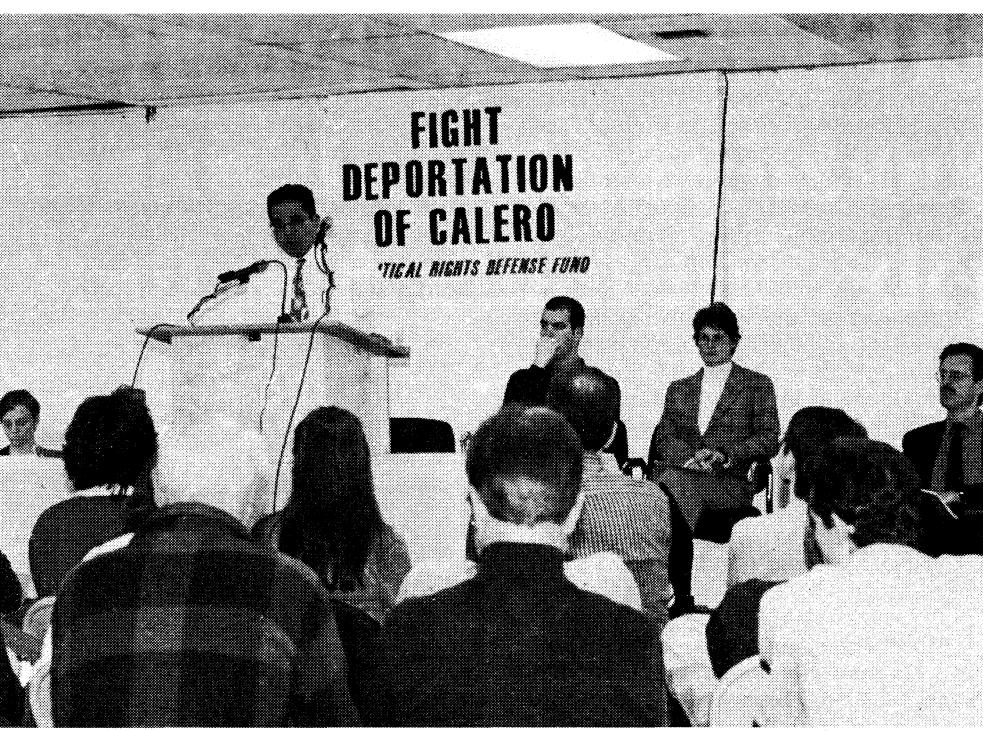
The conditions placed on Calero's parole, including the instruction that he abide by all federal, state, and local laws, are a warning that he is being carefully watched by federal authorities, and they can be expected to use any pretext to lock him up again.

The attempt to deport Calero on the basis of a conviction more than 10 years old cuts across a June 2001 Supreme Court decision overruling parts of the 1996 immigration law. "One part of the 1996 law said that the government could bar you from the country, even if the INS had granted you a waiver for a court conviction in your past," said Studer. "Victims of this new law fought this change, and the court ruled it unconstitutional."

Studer noted that Calero "is now available to speak and meet with those who see a common cause in his fight. If you want him to speak before your group or to your co-workers, just give us a call."

The co-chairpeople of the meeting, Naomi Craine, who is helping lead defense efforts in New York, and Paul Pederson, a member of the Young Socialists executive, read samples of protest letters sent to the INS.

Martha Olvera of Houston's Coalition for



Militant/Hilda Cuzco

*Perspectiva Mundial* associate editor Róger Calero speaks at December 15 meeting about the fight against his deportation and the conditions inside the Houston immigration jail.

Dignity and Amnesty sent a message to the meeting saying, "I am so happy that Róger is out from the INS jail," adding that "this is just the first step.... We cannot let them deport him."

A letter of support was also received from defenders of Calero in Auckland, New Zealand. Earlier that week partisans of the *Militant* at a cut-and-kill plant in that city had collected a page of signatures on a petition from co-workers, many of whose families are originally from Pacific Island countries like Samoa and the Cook Islands.

## Thousands face similar conditions

Calero explained that many of the nearly 500 people inside the "Houston Processing Center" are locked up because they were caught without papers, often owing to delays in processing work permit applications and other bureaucratic obstacles. The 1996 immigration law has expanded the number of offenses that immigrants can be deported for, he noted.

Many workers jailed by the INS were only too pleased to be interviewed by Calero for the socialist and labor press, said the journalist.

The processing center is run for the INS by the Corrections Corporation of America, a private company. True to its profit-making character, the jailers provide a photography service, charging \$2 for Polaroid snapshots. This "crude example of capitalism at work," he said, became an opportunity for him and others to get to know each other better as they posed for a group photograph.

When Calero asked those posing for the group shot whether it was okay for the *Militant* and *PM* to use the shot, "Let it be seen," was their response, he said.

"This case will find a hearing among workers defending their unions, immigrant workers fighting for dignity, and other work-

ing people organizing resistance," said the journalist.

In the discussion period a participant from Boston said he had met a lot of interest in the defense campaign at a meeting at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst that was protesting cop harassment of a professor from Iraq. Thirty-five of the 50 participants signed the petition or gave donations, he said.

In response to a question Studer said Calero was jailed after being flagged on a computer like thousands of other workers. There is no evidence that his incarceration had anything to do with his political activity, he said. Now, of course, "they do know who he is."

Eugene Katz, the father of Sarah Katz, Calero's wife, told the *Militant* after the meeting that, although he is "not a socialist," he had written a letter protesting the INS action. "This is a civil rights issue," he said. "I'm interested in learning about others who are in Róger's position, those who have a green card and are still victimized. That to me is what's most outrageous about this case."

Gorky, 35, an Ecuador-born worker living in the Bronx, said, "I know that what happened to Róger can happen to me." Referring to the marijuana plea-bargain conviction being used against Calero, the house painter said, "I think it's wrong that a small mistake in your youth will be dragged out from the past and used in this way, like a cross marked on your forehead."

Anthony Roberts, who works as a cutter in a Brooklyn garment shop, expressed a similar viewpoint. "They have used a mild indiscretion against him," he said. "They do this kind of thing to put pressure on anybody who is a threat."

Participants donated \$1,200 for the defense effort. Many stayed afterward to continue the discussion, lining up at the information table to get new ammunition for the ongoing campaign.

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Fight the Deportation of Róger Calero.** Speaker: Róger Calero, associate editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Fri., Dec. 20. Program, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6:30 p.m. 168 Bloomfield Ave., 2nd floor. Donation: program \$5, dinner \$5. Tel: (973) 481-0077.

### NEW YORK

#### Upper Manhattan

**The Imperialist Plunder of Latin America: Why Working People Should Oppose the Free Trade Area of the Americas.** Speaker: Paul Pederson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 20. Program, 7:30 p.m.; dinner, 6:30 p.m. 599 W 187th St., 2nd floor. Donation: program \$5, dinner \$5. Tel: (212) 740-4611.

## LETTERS

### 'Hate crime' laws

The Scottish government's use of anti-sectarian and anti-hatred demagogic to justify laws aimed at suppressing Irish nationalism reminds me very much of the campaign for hate crime laws popular with liberal activists and Democratic Party politicians here in the United States. These laws, as the article in the December 16 *Militant* correctly pointed out, allow bourgeois authorities to pose as neutral defenders of free speech while singling out workers and anti-imperialist fighters for harassment and prosecution.

Supporters of the Palestinian struggle on university campuses across the U.S. are learning the truth about hate crime measures. In May of this year, a pro-Israel demonstration on the campus of San Francisco State University ended in a confrontation with young Palestinians in which hostile remarks were exchanged, including racial epithets (according to the *San Francisco Chronicle*). University president Robert Cornage immediately suspended the Union of Palestinian Students, revoked its funding and

shut down its website, while taking no action at all against Hillel, the Zionist student organization. The administration refused to remove the suspension for the rest of the term, even though no charges were ever filed, while it piously declared Fall 2002 the Semester on Constructive Civil Discourse.

With pro-Palestine student organizations from the University of California at Berkeley to the University of Michigan under increasing attack, it is becoming clear that university authorities will use hate crime codes to harass and victimize those who dare speak out against Israel and U.S. policies in the Middle East.

Experience is proving what the *Militant* has said many times—that hate crime measures are deadly threats to democratic rights. Whether as state statutes or student codes of conduct, they protect no one except the bourgeoisie's right to restrict freedom of speech as it sees fit. They must be everywhere opposed.

Peter Anestos  
San Francisco, California

### 'Rabbit-Proof Fence'

I recently saw the film *Rabbit-Proof Fence*, which I would like to recommend to all your readers. The film is basically about the "white man's burden" and the true story of a young Aboriginal woman's defiance of it. Though set in Australia, the events could have taken place anywhere that European settlers felt they alone had the burden of civilizing the indigenous, darker-skinned population whether they wanted to be civilized or not. And as a U.S. resident it made me think of the pictures I'd recently seen in the American Indian museum of the Indian Schools and their pupils.

The movie states that the practice of removing children from their Aboriginal parents ended in the 1970s, but does not answer the question of what was happening in Australia at the time that forced the change—I do not believe it was a sudden change of heart.

The most refreshing part of the film for me was that it was not a sentimental film, and the main character is not presented as a poor victim of the system, but instead as a

courageous, proud, and cunning young woman whose resistance inspires admiration.

Ruth Nebbia  
New York, New York

They falsely claimed to have a video showing the youth throwing rocks outside the U.S. embassy in Bosnia. She asked me if it would be all right to give money to the Calero campaign instead.

Another young man whose family comes from Ecuador read the information sheet and said, "It's like the sniper in Washington. The Spanish people who didn't want to talk to the police were deported."

A Filipina told me the story of her friend who was in Japan without papers, was deported, and returned there only once her Japanese boyfriend married her.

Everyone spent some time trying to figure out why the INS would be so arbitrary.

Katy LeRougetel  
Toronto, Canada

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

# U.S. further expands military in S. America

Continued from front page

ton now comes from the Americas, with Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador providing more than 2 million barrels per day, about 20 percent of U.S. imports.

An estimated 250-300 U.S. military personnel are officially stationed in Colombia.

## U.S. air base in Manta, Ecuador

In Ecuador the U.S. government has set up an air base in the town of Manta, signing a 10-year lease in 1999. Gen. Charles Wilhelm, then head of the U.S. Southern Command, called the base the Pentagon's "number one priority" in the region—supposedly to combat drug trafficking—because it "enables us to achieve full coverage of Peru, Colombia, and...areas of Bolivia." Washington is upgrading the facility, spending millions on the construction of living quarters for 200 U.S. military and civilian contract personnel. In addition, U.S. Special Forces are operating together with Ecuadorian troops along the border with Colombia.

Manta is part of a larger network of Forward Operating Locations (FOL) designed to take the place of Howard Air Force Base in Panama, a facility that reverted to Panamanian sovereignty in 1999. In addition to the base in Ecuador, Washington was able to obtain military facilities in Aruba, Curacao, and Venezuela. The FOL airports remain officially in the hands of the host countries but in fact are controlled by the Pentagon. While under the terms of the agreements the U.S. forces are only permitted to participate in actions against "illegal narcotics activity," F-16 fighter jets have been reported along with military surveillance planes at the U.S.-used facilities in Aruba and Curacao.

Washington is also stepping up its military presence in the Southern Cone, focusing its propaganda campaign around a "terrorist threat" in the border area shared by Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay.

The Triple Border region is near areas that have simmered with worker and peasant protests in each of the countries—from protests by peasants in eastern Paraguay, to social explosions in northern Argentina, to land occupations by landless peasants in Brazil.

The Pentagon has established an unofficial military facility near the Triple Border city of Concepción, eastern Paraguay, under the pretext of helping peasants build health-care centers and other facilities. U.S. military personnel have joined with Paraguayan troops in carrying out "antiterrorist" exercises. Encouraged by Washington, the Paraguayan regime has targeted the Arab-Paraguayan community.

Not far away, in the northeastern Argentine province of Misiones, U.S. and Argentine military forces carried out jungle maneuvers in late October, stirring protests. One pretext used was that the U.S. marines were there "to combat the mosquito that carries dengue fever."

A group of teachers, workers, and stu-



Some 4,000 workers, peasants, and students march in Bogotá, Colombia, September 16 during a 24-hour general strike by state workers. The demonstration was part of protests by 800,000 workers and peasants throughout the country against the government's austerity policies. Washington's military buildup in South America is aimed at the growing resistance by the toilers in the region.

dents established a "Misiones Commission against the U.S. Intervention" to organize opposition to the military exercises.

A sticking point between the two governments prior to the maneuvers was Washington's demand that Buenos Aires extend full immunity to U.S. troops taking part in exercises from facing any war crimes charges before the newly formed International Criminal Court. Carlos Ruckauf, Argentina's foreign minister, rejected the U.S. demand and said his government would offer the same guarantees as in previous joint military maneuvers.

## U.S. facility in Tierra del Fuego

At the same time, plans have been under way to establish a U.S. military facility in the far southern tip of Argentina, Tierra del Fuego. Washington has used Argentina's \$141 billion foreign debt as a club to get the government in Buenos Aires to accede to its demands.

U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld said in January that Washington would be

willing to financially assist the Argentine government in return for authorization to set up the base. In July the governor of Tierra del Fuego, Carlos Manfredotti, signed a decree authorizing use of a military instal-

lation by Washington, reportedly a surveillance station for its theater missile defense system. It will also detonate underground atomic bombs—but only for "peaceful ends." The teachers union of Tierra del Fuego has been leading a campaign against the U.S. base.

Washington is also pressing the governments of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile for greater access to bases and more joint military exercises.

In October some 750 U.S. soldiers, including 450 from the Special Forces, carried out the "Tamarugal Cabañas 2002" joint maneuvers with troops from nine South American countries in Pandehue, Chile.

In Bolivia, U.S. troops are helping construct several military bases, while peasant organizations have been campaigning against the presence of U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency troops.

## 'Antidrug' base in Peru

In Peru, U.S. military personnel are deployed at three U.S.-built radar stations. In addition, a semisecret U.S. base is operating in Iquitos, Peru.

In a May 7, 2001 article in the *Washington Post*, William Arkin wrote, "The military facility in Iquitos, Peru is not a U.S. airbase, nor does it appear in any list of U.S. military facilities. The Americans providing real-time tracking information to the Peruvian air force are not government or military personnel.

"So, who are the gaggle of Iquitos 'contractors' employed by a company named Aviation Development Corporation, a company which is located on Maxwell Air Force base in Montgomery, Alabama, but is not a part of the U.S. Air Force? Who are the contractors operating a specially outfitted Cessna Citation V surveillance plane that flies the U.S. flag but does not belong to the U.S. government? Who are the contractors operating from a hangar built by a Peruvian company paid by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers? They are the fighters in our drug war!"

Titled "The Underground Military," the article points to the ways that Washington has covered up the real extent of its military involvement in South America.

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



December 30, 1977

Mexican political refugee Héctor Marroquín walked out of the Maverick County Jail in Eagle Pass, Texas, December 21, free on \$10,000 bail.

Marroquín, who is seeking political asylum here, served a ninety-day sentence for "attempting to illegally enter the country."

The government's \$10,000 ransom demand forced Marroquín to spend nearly a week more behind bars while the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) worked to raise the money.

Marroquín fled Mexico and came to the United States in April 1974 after he was falsely accused of a murder in Monterrey. He believed his life was in danger because he had been a political activist at the university there. The Mexican government is notorious for its violation of the human rights of political dissidents—so notorious it has drawn criticism even from the U.S. State Department.

One of the students who was accused with Marroquín of the Monterrey murder was arrested in April, 1975. No one has heard from him since.

Marroquín was arrested at the border last September as he returned from a visit to Mexico to see an attorney. At the time of his arrest, the U.S. government threatened to "exclude" him—that is, merely ship him back to Mexico after only the most perfunctory hearing.

An emergency campaign by USLA slowed the government's drive, and won hundreds of endorsers Marroquín's right to political asylum.

"The support I have gotten convinces me that we can win my case," Marroquín said. "It also shows we can build a powerful movement in this country against *la migra* and against the discriminatory U.S. policy

on granting asylum."

Meanwhile, the INS has begun its attempt to deport Marroquín. A deportation hearing is scheduled for January 17.



December 29, 1952

The militancy of the Negro people of the South in their struggle against Jim Crow was graphically described to the Flint branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by...Mrs. Juanita Craft of Texas...a woman in her sixties, a key organizer of the 182 NAACP branches in her state and a member of the NAACP National Board.

Referring to the tendency to complacency of some Negroes in the North, who, because of the relatively better economic and social conditions above the Mason-Dixon line, wash their hands of the South or write it off as hopeless, Mrs. Craft said: "Let me warn you that when McCarthyism gets a hold in this land some of you will wish you could get back down South where we have fighting NAACP branches."

This dedicated crusader for human rights described the militancy of the NAACP members in the South, "where it isn't so easy or safe to be a member," and related with pride how Negroes had become stewards and committeemen in the Texas CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations union].

The audience listened intently as she enumerated the daily heroic acts of individual Southern Negroes—refusal to transfer to Jim Crow sections on trains, enrollment in colleges and schools, remaining in the front sections of buses. With enthusiasm she described the glorious day when she ate with the six Negro students in the cafeteria of the University of Dallas. As a little girl she had been warned constantly that no Negro must even step on the lawn of that lily-white institution.

From Pathfinder

## The Second Declaration of Havana

### with The First Declaration of Havana

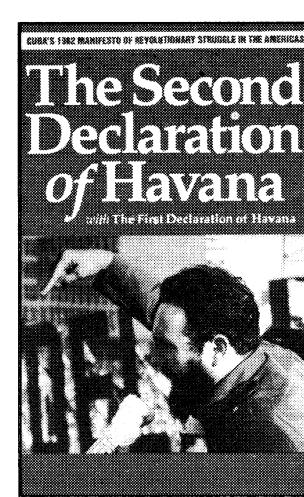
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# Trotsky: Imperialist conflicts on eve of WWII

Printed below is an excerpt from *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1936-37)*, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for December. It is one of 14 volumes that cover the period of Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union in 1929 until his assassination at Stalin's orders in 1940.

Several years before the hostilities officially broke out, Trotsky explains the coming second imperialist slaughter—World War II—including the relationship among the competing imperialist powers, the position of the weaker capitalist na-

## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

tions, and the response to these events by pacifist forces. Copyright © 1970 and 1978 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY LEON TROTSKY

Each day the press peers out toward the world horizon, looking for smoke and flames. In order to draw up a list of the possible hearths of war, it would be necessary to refer to a whole primer of geography. At the same time, international antagonisms are so complicated and confused that no one can predict the point at which the war will break out, not to speak of the alignments of the belligerent parties. There will be shooting, but who will shoot at whom, nobody knows....

The situation is still further complicated by the middle and small states. They are like heavenly satellites, not knowing around which planet they should revolve. Poland is

allied with France on paper, but in practice collaborates with Germany. Rumania formally belongs to the Little Entente but is drawn by Poland, not unsuccessfully, into the orbit of German-Italian influence. Belgrade's growing rapprochement with Rome and Berlin evokes ever-increasing anxiety not only in Prague but also in Bucharest. On the other hand, Hungary fears, with complete justification, that her territorial aspirations will be the first to fall victim to the friendship between Berlin, Rome, and Belgrade.

They all want peace, especially those who can expect no good from war: the Balkan countries, the little Baltic states, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states. Their ministers come together at conferences, conclude agreements, and make speeches about peace. The whole thing resembles a puppet show on the crater of a volcano. Not one of the minor powers will be allowed to remain on the sidelines. They will all shed blood. The idea which only yesterday seemed absurd, that the Scandinavian countries might fight among themselves, is today becoming a probability. Germany need only find support in Sweden, and Great Britain in Denmark, and the Scandinavian "sisters" will discover themselves in antagonistic camps. On the condition, naturally, that Great Britain and Germany fight each other.

### Pacifism, fascism, and war

It was not long ago that pacifists of various stripes believed or pretended to believe that a new war could be prevented with the aid of the League of Nations, show congresses, referendums, and other theatrical enterprises, the majority of which were financed from the budget of the USSR. What has remained of these illusions? Of the seven great powers, three—the United States, Japan, and Germany—are out of the League of Nations; a fourth, Italy, is destroying the League from within. The other three find it ever less necessary to cover their special



Leon Trotsky, right, with U.S. communist leader Farrell Dobbs in Mexico, 1937. Trotsky spoke on the sharpening conflicts among capitalist powers that led to the second imperialist slaughter.

interests with the League label. The melancholy partisans of the Geneva institution, yesterday the "hope of mankind," have reached the conclusion that the only way to "save" the League consists in not confronting it with any important questions. In 1932, when the famous disarmament conference was opened, the European armies numbered 3,200,000 men. In 1936, this number had already risen to 4,500,000 and continued to grow uninterruptedly. What has happened to Lord Cecil's referendums? Who will receive the next Nobel Peace Prize? The Geneva disarmament policy has ceased to be even a worthy object of caricature.

### War and revolution

In war, the big and the strong obtain predominance over the small and the weak. Geographical location, territorial dimensions, size of population, resources of war materials, reserves of gold, and technology assure the United States of a tremendous predominance over other countries. If one admits that the world war will proceed to its natural end, that is, to the complete exhaustion of the belligerent camps, one cannot escape the conclusion that domination over our planet will fall to the lot of the United States. However, domination over decadence and destruction, over hunger, epidemics, and savagery would inevitably signify the decline of America's own civilization. To what extent is such a perspective

real? A protracted decay of humanity as a result of the new war is not excluded. But fortunately it is not the only prospect. Long before the mutual destruction of peoples has proceeded to its end, the political and social machinery of each country will be put to the test. The work of war may be cut short by revolution.

I am little inclined to share the hope that the proletariat will be able at the necessary moment to resist with force the commencement of war operations. On the contrary, in the months of approaching war danger as well as during the first period of war, the masses will be dominated by centripetal, patriotic tendencies with the force of a natural reflex. This applies to classes and national groups within the various states as well as, for example, to the component parts of the British empire. But the further progress of war, with its train of destitution, savagery, and despair, will of necessity not only regenerate but also develop to the extreme all frictions, antagonisms, and centrifugal tendencies, which sooner or later will find their expression in insurrections and revolution. Even in this case, naturally, war remains the worst misfortune which can befall humanity. But the earlier the masses of the people make an end of it, the more easily will humanity's self-inflicted wounds heal....

Since a new war of nations will start where the old one left off, the extermination of human lives and the expenditure of war materials will, from the very beginning, be several times greater than at the beginning of the last war, and will at the same time have a tendency to further rapid increase. The tempos will be more feverish, the destructive forces more grandiose, the distress of the population more unbearable. There is consequently every reason to expect that the mass reaction will begin, not after two and a half years, as in czarist Russia, nor after a little more than four years, as in Germany and Austria-Hungary, but considerably earlier. But a definite answer to the question of dates can naturally be given only by events themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Cecil (1864-1958) was a Tory member of Parliament and president of the League of Nations Union, 1923-45. He conducted a "peace ballot" in 1935 that polled Britons on the popularity of war and rearmament. He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1937.

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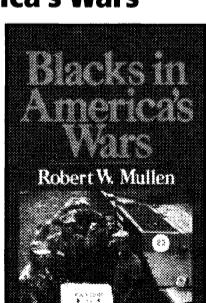
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## Stop deportation of Róger Calero

We celebrate the success in getting Róger Calero paroled and out of the immigration jail in Houston, where he was locked up for 10 days on his return from a reporting assignment abroad. It's an important first step in the fight to prevent him from being excluded from the United States. That fight is on, and it needs to be broadened even further.

The campaign to stop the deportation of Calero, a *Militant* staff writer and associate editor of the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, has become the property of an expanding range of individuals and organizations—defenders of freedom of the press, immigrants rights activists, unionists, supporters of civil liberties, and many others.

They are outraged at the INS's attack on Calero's right to live and work as a journalist in this country. The fight also strikes a chord because what happened to Calero and what he faces today is what tens of thousands of immigrants confront in this country at the hands of the hated *la migra* cops.

The defense campaign has been widely circulated—from the Spanish-language daily newspaper in Houston to the nationwide Pacifica radio chain, to the bulletin of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. Messages of protest to Houston INS district director Hipolito Acosta have come from across the country and around the world.

## An indictment of capitalism

Argentina is the world's fourth-largest exporter of food. It is also a country where, every year, 11,000 children die of malnutrition or other preventable causes.

What is the problem? Big-business politicians will talk for hours to explain it away. But this problem has a name: it is capitalism.

The pictures of skeleton-like children in Tucumán province and other rural areas is not the result of a natural catastrophe like a flood or earthquake. The rise of child malnutrition is a direct result of how capitalism works. There is plenty of food, but with massive layoffs and social cutbacks in recent months, two-thirds of working people in the province cannot afford to purchase food to meet basic human needs. When kids fall ill, parents cannot find basic medicines because of the virtual collapse of the public health system—part of the country's economic meltdown.

Argentina is a semicolonial country in a world divided between a large majority of oppressed nations and a handful of industrialized, imperialist powers.

This setup reinforces unequal terms of trade. The prices of agricultural goods and raw materials tend to decline, while prices for industrial equipment purchased from imperialist countries tend to go up, pushing semicolonial countries deeper into debt.

Through debt bondage, Washington and other imperialist powers plunder the economies of the semicolonial world. Oppressed nations in Latin America, Asia, and Africa shell out tens of billions in interest payments to imperialist creditors, yet the foreign debt continues to grow. A huge proportion of the national wealth of Argentina and other Latin American countries is used to pay this tribute to the imperialist powers.

The rapidity and breadth of this outcry made the INS cops who seized Calero in Houston December 3 step back and take stock of what they had on their hands. They made a calculated decision to let him out, in order to gain time and leeway to carry through their drive to throw him out of the country.

Supporters of the fight to stop the deportation of Calero can use this time to deepen the campaign, spread the word further, and increase the pressure.

As the wealthy rulers of this country have ratcheted up their war drive abroad and attacks on the rights of working people at home, many have been looking for an opportunity to wage a fight to defend their interests. They will see in Calero's battle an opportunity to defend one of their own and to defend their ability to work and live free from restrictions and intimidation.

All those who have responded can use this opportunity to expand the breadth and intensity of our efforts to press the government to drop its exclusion proceedings against Calero. You can send protest messages to the INS district director, circulate petitions, make a contribution to help make the defense effort possible. Above all, you can involve others in this defense campaign. Calero is available to speak at special events to help win backing in this fight for justice.

Stop the deportation of Róger Calero! Drop the INS exclusion proceedings now!

## New York transit union announces deal

BY STU SINGER  
AND ARRIN HAWKINS

NEW YORK—Shortly after thousands of transit workers and supporters marched over the Brooklyn Bridge and rallied at City Hall December 16, Transit Workers Union Local 100 officials and representatives of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) held a joint press conference announcing a proposed three-year contract settlement.

As the *Militant* went to press, details of the proposal were not available. According to press reports, the contract included a wage freeze, along with a \$1,000 lump sum, for the first year, and a 3 percent raise for the second and third years. The union negotiators agreed to measures the MTA says will increase "productivity."

The MTA reportedly dropped its demand that workers pay an additional \$1,000 toward their pension fund. The unionists will have to pay higher copayments for drugs and doctor visits, but not the biweekly \$22 health insurance premiums the employer had demanded.

The authority said it would overhaul its disciplinary system, notorious for its arbitrary and harsh nature.

The city and state governments and the big-business media waged an intense propaganda campaign against the transit workers and warned of dire consequences if they walked out. The transit authority won a court injunction prohibiting a strike based on the Taylor Law, which bars strikes by public employees. State and city officials threatened the 34,000-member union with massive fines and possible jail time if they went ahead with a stoppage.

In face of the MTA's intransigence, workers marched to keep the pressure on as union officials negotiated.

A major concern was safety, which came sharply into focus after two track workers were killed on the job. One marcher, Mark Allen, a light maintainer, knew Kurien Baby, who was killed November 23 when setting out a warning light to protect his crew at the Canal Street station. Allen said supervisors are supposed to make sure there are enough workers watching for trains, but they do not always do that because of pressure to work faster with fewer staff.

Allen confirmed that tracks designed for smaller trains and smaller workers in the past posed new safety hazards today. He said workers who are 6 feet 2 inches or taller often do not feel safe, particularly in the tunnels running under the East River between Brooklyn and Manhattan.

L. Corvera, a flagger, explained that flagging is done differently for different work crews, with small crews getting totally inadequate protection. "When the flagger is right next to the work crew, there is no chance for a train to stop in time." After the two deaths, the workers report that the union pressured the MTA to increase the number of flaggers on all the crews, but the company refused to make these changes permanent.

Another important issue in the contract fight was against the extreme disciplinary actions by the transit authority. The MTA conducted 45,000 "home investigations" of sick workers in the last three years and issued 16,000 disciplinary actions per year for a work force of 34,000.

Jose Cotto, a 22-year veteran car inspector, explained, "There's a lot of harassment by supervisors. They'll come up and tell you to work faster. They'll suspend you for two days for correcting a mistake by a supervisor. They order unqualified workers into dangerous positions and order you to lift heavy motors, when that is supposed to be done with special equipment. If you refuse, they suspend you. The union wins a lot of these cases in arbitration, but that drags on for a long time."

He added, "You can call in sick and a beakie [boss] will be at your house in 20 minutes to see if you are really sick."

TWU Local 100 members will be voting on the contract by mail later in the month.

## Pathfinder booth at Guadalajara

### Continued from Page 5

lished in English?" asked Ariel Sacks. Originally from Boston, Sacks is teaching English at a school in Guadalajara. She explained that she has run into anti-Semitism, stereotyped views of Jews, and general ignorance of the situation that existed in Germany during the Nazi regime, including the fascist slaughter of Jews.

Those staffing the Pathfinder booth described the efforts of volunteers around the world to digitize and translate the entire list of Pathfinder titles. Eva Chertov, a bilingual teacher in a New York City high school who helped staff the booth, is one of the more than 200 volunteers digitizing the backlog of Pathfinder Press.

Many who came to the booth bought the titles on the Middle East that are currently available only in English. Thirty-one copies were sold of issue no. 1 of *Nueva Internacional*, "Washington's Assault on Iraq: The Opening Guns of World War Three."

Judith Trujillo Roque, a worker who is also a student at the University of Guadalajara, was glad to meet Francisco Picado, a union coal miner from Colorado helping staff the booth. "She said she is looking for people who think 'like this,' pointing to the books," Picado reported.

Picado described to Picado a recent experience in the electronics factory where she worked. After she led job action to demand higher wages and better working conditions, the bosses convinced her that taking a job as a lead was a way to improve everyone's wages. When she realized what they were doing—she was earning more than

her co-workers—she quit the job. "Some of the people I go to school with think I'm crazy," she said.

### 'Important to know our past'

Montserrat Maldonado, 18, spent a good bit of time in the booth talking to Natalie Stake-Doucet, a member of the Young Socialists living in Vancouver, Canada. Stake-Doucet explained the tremendous impact that the book *Women's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed had on her when she was new to a revolutionary perspective. "I like the feminist perspective. It's important to know our past, our history," Maldonado replied. She bought the book and asked Stake-Doucet to keep in touch by e-mail.

An important part of the book fair was the hundreds of work shops, book launchings, and cultural presentations. A young woman asked at a workshop on world poverty, "Isn't there a contradiction between the distribution of resources and capitalism?" Natalie Stake-Doucet invited her to visit the Pathfinder booth, where she bought nine titles and a copy of the socialist magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*.

While the fair was taking place, Mexican farmers were demonstrating in the capital city nearly every day, demanding relief for farmers devastated by the lifting of protective tariffs on Mexican farm products as a result of trade agreements promoted by Washington.

These events, together with discussions about the worldwide crisis facing workers and farmers and a revolutionary alternative to that crisis, helped make *Capitalism's World Disorder* one of Pathfinder's top sellers.

## Web press 'Militant' has earlier schedule

BY PAUL PEDERSON

This is the second issue of the *Militant* to be printed and folded on a web press at a print shop in New Jersey. This step eliminates the task of hand folding that was previously organized by volunteers in the New York and New Jersey area every Wednesday evening.

The paper is now printed Tuesday night. The mailing of the paper, which is done through a volunteer effort in New York, is now on Wednesday—a day earlier than before. Distributors and subscribers should now receive their papers a day earlier.

One result is that Thursdays are now freed up to allow partisans of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in New York and New Jersey to hit the streets and sell the latest issue.

To meet this production schedule, the deadline for submitting articles for the *Militant* is Friday at 8:00 a.m. for the issue that will be mailed the following Wednesday. Bundle orders and calendar announcements must be received by Tuesday at 8:00 a.m.

## Australia gov't asserts 'right' to intervene

BY RON POULSEN

SYDNEY, Australia—Australian prime minister John Howard's December 1 assertion that he would be prepared to launch military strikes outside the country's borders against a so-called "terrorist" threat has sparked protests and a diplomatic storm in Southeast Asian capitals.

The controversy erupted after the broadcast of an interview with Howard on the national *Sunday* current affairs program. Asked whether his government would be prepared to use special forces to launch a strike in another country if a "terrorist group" was planning operations, Howard was unequivocal. "If you believed that somebody was going to launch an attack against your country, either of a conventional kind or of a terrorist kind, and you had a capacity to stop it and there was no alternative," he said, "then of course you would have to use it."

The statement had particular resonance given the Australian government's aggressive military stance in the region, particularly over the recent period. The imperialist rulers have led a United Nations occupation force in East Timor, intervened militarily in the Solomon Islands and Bougainville, and have mounted aggressive naval patrols to head off boats carrying immigrants from Asia.

Australian federal cops and officers of the secret police headed to Bali and Jakarta in Indonesia following the October 12 bombing on the Indonesian island of Bali in which nearly 100 Australian citizens were killed.

In the Philippines capital of Manila

people took to the streets to denounce Howard. Renato Reyes of Bayan (the New Patriotic Alliance), told reporters December 2 that the Australian government was a "bully," and "no different from the United States."

A few days earlier the Australian government had closed its embassy in the city, citing a "specific threat" from "Islamic extremists." The Canadian government followed suit. The Philippines government initially criticized the action, but changed its tune after being briefed by Australian foreign affairs officials.

Southeast Asian government leaders and media commentators protested Howard's veiled threat. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad said his government would consider it "an act of war" if Canberra carried out any such military attack. Howard, he said, acts like "a white-man sheriff in some Black country," representing a European enclave that sticks out like a "sore thumb" in Asia.

Indonesian military chief General Endriartono Sutarto said, "Such an action [would be] an act of aggression against another sovereign country and we will not stand by should they attack."

"Australia ready to invade Asia" was a headline in Jakarta's *Republika* newspaper.

### Threat to sovereignty

Senior officials in the Philippines, Thailand, and Singapore denounced the comments, reported the *Sydney Morning Herald*, as a "threat to sovereignty, an unfriendly act, and a blow to regional cooperation

### Mexican farmers protest 'free trade'



Thousands of farmers and farm workers in Mexico City march behind banner of revolutionary hero Emiliano Zapata to protest against tariff reductions agreed to by the government under the North American Free Trade Agreement. Subsidized U.S. agricultural imports into the country are threatening to wipe out small producers who can't compete against the low-priced U.S. commodities.

against terrorism."

Seeking to downplay Howard's threats, Foreign Minister Alexander Downer called a meeting December 4 with the 10 ambassadors of the Association of Southeast Asian

Nations (ASEAN) countries. The governments "know the obvious point that we are not about to launch bombing raids or land troops in ASEAN countries," he said.

Howard has restated his position, saying that international law should be redrafted to give the cover of "self-defense" to powers using first strikes against "terrorists" in foreign countries without UN approval. The statement drew further protests.

The Australian prime minister's remarks were consistent with the foreign policy stance of his government on Asia and the South Pacific and as part of the U.S.-led war drive in the Middle East. Defense Minister Robert Hill said that "it's time for a new and distinct doctrine of preemptive action" against countries such as Iraq in a new environment of "global terrorist threats."

The government-funded Australian Strategic Policy Institute warned November 28 that Indonesia and "Pacific states like the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea" could be a source for terrorists and financing. Its *Beyond Bali* report recommended boosting federal, state, and secret police powers and numbers under a new "counter-terrorism intelligence center" with an overall national director.

### Debate in ruling circles

The regional response to Howard's stance sparked some debate in ruling circles in Australia. Labor opposition leader Simon Crean described Howard's remarks on the *Sunday* program as "provocative and unnecessary." When pressed, however, Crean refused to rule out backing for such military action.

Crean recently announced Labor proposals to create a federal home affairs department to coordinate "national security," and to establish an oceangoing coast guard.

A December 3 *Sydney Morning Herald* editorial criticized Howard's comments, belatedly warning that "any suggestion of arrogance on Australia's part, such as a perceived disrespect for sovereignty, or the assumption that Canberra is peddling Washington's strategic priorities in Southeast Asia, could further fan anti-Western sentiment."

Senior officials in the imperialist capitals of Washington and Tokyo were more supportive of the Australian prime minister. "I consider Australia is in favor of respecting international law," said "counter-terrorism" ambassador Hiroshi Shigeta after reviewing Howard's remarks. White House spokesman Ari Fleischer praised Howard's comments as "echoing U.S. policy."

Ron Poulsen is a member of the Maritime Union of Australia.

## Japan sends warship to Indian Ocean

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The Japanese government announced December 4 that before the end of the year it would dispatch an Aegis destroyer to the Indian Ocean. The heavily armed U.S.-built warship carries advanced radar and communications equipment.

Defense Agency Director Gen. Shigeru Ishiba said the ship would provide "logistical support" for Washington's military operations in the region. Striking nationalist themes, Tokyo government officials have also said that the ship will "protect Japanese shipping," according to the *New York Times*.

"To utilize such a high-tech vessel effectively contributes to national interests," said Chief Cabinet Secretary Yasuo Fukuda.

The 7,250-ton Aegis, the largest warship in the Japanese navy, is capable of attacking more than 10 targets simultaneously and detecting about 200 aircraft and missiles several hundred kilometers away at the same time. The vessel can collect and transmit military data to the U.S. war fleet. It will join five other Japanese vessels that have been operating in the area since November 2001—one month after Washington began bombing Afghanistan. Two of the five function as refueling ships for the U.S. fleet. The other three earlier-generation destroyers stand guard over them.

"We greatly appreciate this effort by Japan in the support of Operation Enduring Freedom," said U.S. deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage in Tokyo on December 11, using Washington's name for its assault on Afghanistan. During his tour of Asia to garner support for a U.S.-led military assault on Iraq, Armitage described Japan as "our most important ally in Asia."

"The Aegis decision sends a clear message to Washington, which has been asking Tokyo unofficially to send the destroyer," commented the December 7 *Japan Times*. "As such, it was timed with an eye to [Armitage's visit] and subsequent Japanese-U.S. ministerial security talks."

According to the Japanese English-language weekly, the destroyer's "timely dispatch...can pick up some of the slack" of U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and "thereby provide indirect support for an anti-Iraq operation."

Washington has also "unofficially" asked the Japanese government to send a P-3C Orion antisubmarine patrol aircraft to the area, reported *Japan Today*. The on-line news magazine noted that "U.S. government officials have made it repeatedly clear over the past months that they are expecting at least the same level of support...when the United States moves on to Iraq to get rid of Saddam Hussein by force."

The stance of the Japanese government toward today's imperialist war drive in the Middle East stands in contrast to the Gulf War of just over a decade ago, in which Tokyo played no military role. Restricted to "checkbook diplomacy," the Japanese rulers coughed up more than \$13 billion toward the cost of Operation Desert Storm—the code name for the brutal assault on Iraq led by Washington.

In 1991 following the Gulf War, Tokyo took a somewhat different approach, sending 500 Self-Defense Force troops to the region to serve in a United Nations "peacekeeping mission." The Japanese ruling class has substantial stakes in any war or instability in the Middle East, being heavily reliant on the region's oil despite efforts to break down that dependence.

A few weeks after Washington began bombing Afghanistan last year, Tokyo began its military deployment in the Indian Ocean dispatching on November 25 a destroyer, a minesweeper, and a supply ship. The warships were given authorization to fire if attacked.

### Japan's military potential

Japan has a large and modern standing army with roughly a quarter of a million troops in uniform and an annual military budget of \$45 billion—the highest among the imperialist countries after the United States. According to Japanese government 2001 figures, Japan's naval power includes 54 destroyers, 16 submarines, 32 mine warfare vessels, 3 patrol combat aircraft, 8 landing ships, and 29 auxiliary ships.

The decision to deploy several ships beyond Japan's territorial waters is the latest in a series of moves by the country's imperialist rulers to step up their military reach.

In the last decade capitalist politicians in

Japan have begun to chip away at post-World War II restraints on the deployment abroad of the armed forces. These restrictions were part of the constitution dictated by Washington in the period of U.S. military occupation that followed Japan's surrender in 1945.

The "war on terror" has provided a cover for Tokyo's recent military moves. Last year, urged on by the U.S. government, the parliament approved legislation allowing the Japanese military to contribute to "efforts of the international community for the prevention and eradication of terrorism." This law requires a parliamentary review every six months of Japan's participation in the "fight against international terrorism."

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, who spoke out against Japan's "checkbook diplomacy" during the Gulf War as opposed to military intervention, pushed for rapid passage of the new legislation.

On November 19 the parliament voted to extend Japan's military support for the U.S. military operation in Afghanistan for another six months.

These moves have sparked debates within the ruling coalition government, which includes Koizumi's Liberal Democratic Party, the New Komeito party, and the New Conservative Party. Liberal Democratic Party legislator Hiromu Nonaka said on December 4 that he "vehemently" opposed dispatching the Aegis destroyer to the Indian Ocean because it "could trigger a move to drive our nation in a dangerous direction, including deployment of forces against Iraq."

Criticism from Japan's opposition parties has generally been mild. Kansei Nakano, the leader of the main opposition Democratic Party, described the warship's dispatch as "a bit heavy-handed."

Although these steps are taken at Washington's urging, the Japanese rulers are constantly reminded of who is the boss in this "alliance." Adding to potential friction is the particular resonance in Japan of U.S. officials' comparisons of September 11 to the Pearl Harbor attack. That military move was made under the pressure of the Roosevelt administration's 1940 embargo on oil sales to its Asian competitor.